

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES

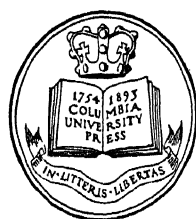
Survey for 1934

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THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE STUDY OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IN THE UNITED STATES

Survey for 1934

EDITED BY
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PREFACE

THIS SURVEY, made during the year 1933-1934, appears at an opportune time. At this juncture in our history, it would appear that the acceptance of the idea of a planned society may mark the transition from an old order to a new, not only as a means to economic recovery, but in all phases of our national life.

The old order as set forth in these pages is in the account of the miscellaneous activities and publications of voluntary societies of various sorts. The composite picture of such activities reveals in the American people a really remarkable interest in international problems. This interest, though a fad with the few, has become increasingly the serious concern of the many. In very recent years volunteer associations have worked more and more for definite national policies, and for the coordination of plans and policies of similar organizations, in the hope of helping to bring about, through the education of public and official opinion, a direction of world affairs which should lessen existing conflicts and increase the possibilities of peace between nations.

This survey registers the way in which the growing attention to the interplay of national interests has affected education, both formal and popular; it suggests similar trends in the arts and sciences and in business. Moreover, research projects which have paralleled the popular interest and made vital contributions to the study of international relations in the United States, have a place in every chapter. Frequently also the survey records the assistance which research has received from multiform grants-in-aid to institutions and individuals, as well as to projects of large proportions, which have been made available by the foundations, endowed by the merchant princes of pre-depression days.

All these activities, together with the changing character of college courses in response to contemporary events and problems, the coordination of activities of similar sorts through cooperations between similar organizations, and the increased number of international affiliations of all kinds which have developed since the War, may be taken to indicate a period of transition from a society of relatively haphazard concern with national policies to a new order, which, in proportion as it becomes

mature, will utilize its resources for the intelligent direction of its national and international relationships.

Some may say that much that is recorded in the survey is of an order that is passing and, therefore, might better be forgotten. The truth is, however, that the new policies are often inexplicable unless the history here recorded is taken into account; and that new policies are now possible because, in the past decade or more, the pioneer organizations have developed to the point of being able to investigate problems in practical politics. Moreover, such associations have created a public opinion which will be readier to follow the conclusions of research than ever before in our history.

President Roosevelt's Commission of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations goes even further; it would formulate plans or principles for an intelligently directed public policy and publish the findings of research which should become the basis for further planning. In fact, it may be said that the activities of the Commission of Inquiry on National Policy¹ are those of a secretariat to national industrial planning. Such evidences of a new order in distinction from the old are indications of possibilities of future development. In consequence, knowledge of the existing activities in research, in formal education, in adult education, and in voluntary organizations, even when motivated by personal advantage, as well as knowledge of the achievements and far-reaching activities and influence of our great foundations, should be a contribution to future planning for social well-being in the world of international relationships. The record of things as they are and have been (especially since 1930) which this survey has endeavored to present, should be useful for the more intelligent utilization of the resources available at home, for the building of a definite program which shall fit into existing conditions.

The survey, naturally, reveals both shortcomings and achievements. It should, for that reason, serve as a mirror in which is reflected not only the ineffectual character and the futility of much of the study of international relations in the United States, but also the resources available for use in constructive planning. Evidences of real progress are revealed in the picture of the study of international relations in the educational world, from the elementary school through the university, and through the parallel development of the voluntary associations for adult education. The research made possible by the great foundations, their co-ordination of research and adult education, the developing cooperation

¹ See pp. 31, 41-42.

between existing organizations and institutions, are evidences of the possibilities for the future. That future, if it includes a planned society, will be facilitated by utilization of the resources which are set forth in this survey.

An Index-Directory has been added to enhance the usefulness of this volume as a manual to organizations and agencies promoting the study of international relations in the United States.

By way of acknowledgment it should be said that the compilation of the Index-Directory was greatly facilitated by the assistance of Miss Margaret G. Shotwell, and that Miss Shotwell and Miss Carol Riegelman, of the staff of the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, assisted in the research and the planning. Here and there throughout the survey are indications that data, or parts of chapters, have been contributed by persons connected with the activity described. There are many other people to whom the survey and its authors owe much: to the secretaries and officers of various organizations, who generously furnished information that has been presented; to the librarians who assisted in the finding of written data and in the verification of publications named; and to specialists in every field who gave generously whenever information was asked.

To Professor James T. Shotwell, chairman of the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, this survey owes its existence. The making of such a survey was his idea, the collaborators were chosen by him, and he has piloted it through all the stages of its compilation. To him the editor is indebted for constructive suggestions and for detailed criticisms which have added materially to its value. Telling comments and happy turns of phrase, which appear throughout the volume, are frequently the annotations of his pen.

E. E. W.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

October 1, 1934

COLLABORATORS

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY, that for 1932-1933, was edited by Mr. Grover Clark for the Social Science Research Council. It was distributed in mimeographed form, chiefly to those organizations and individuals who have had a share in the furtherance of the subject. The interest which it awakened, however, soon extended to others, and in order to meet the continuing demand it was decided to prepare an edition for publication by the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. As the work progressed it became apparent that provision for new material and a reorientation of subject matter called for a new treatment of a number of sections of the survey, especially those dealing with academic subjects.

Part One, "The Organization of Research," rests in part upon the material in the earlier compilation; in part it has been recast and elaborated. Chapter IV on "Business and Financial Research in International Relations" is by Mr. William H. Koenig, of the School of Business, Columbia University. Part Two, "Disciplines of Study and Research"—its origins and authors—is explained in detail in Chapter V, "The Coordination of Disciplines." In Part Three, "Regional Fields of Study and Research," Chapter XI, "The Pacific Area," is based upon data furnished, in part, by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; Chapter XII, "Latin America," was drafted by Dean A. Curtis Wilgus, of The George Washington University, Washington, D. C.; while Chapter X, "European International Relations," and Chapter XIII, "Canadian-American Relations" (except the description of the project of research in Canadian-American relations), are by the present editor.

The three chapters of Part Four, "Education in International Relations," were written by specialists in each field, originally for the preliminary study; wherever possible the data has been brought up to date. Chapter XIV, "International Relations in the Schools," is by Dr. Heber Harper, of Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University; Chapter XV, "Agencies for Adult Education in International Relations," was compiled by Dr. Alice S. Cheyney, of the staff of the Inter-

national Labor Office; and Chapter XVI, "Channels of International Intellectual Contact," is by Mr. Edward R. Murrow, of the Institute of International Education.

The reexamination of university study of international relations and contemporary European relationships by the present editor revealed the developments which are recorded in Chapter IX. The fact that the study of international relations is becoming a new discipline, tending to rank with history, economics, and political science, of which it has been a part, resulted in the creation of Part Two, "Disciplines of Study and Research," in distinction from Part Three, "Regional Fields of Study and Research." In the course of the elaboration of various sections, the importance of the League of Nations, especially in its research activities, became increasingly evident, and Part Five, "The League of Nations, and Study and Research in International Relations," which concludes the volume, was added. This section not only outlines the importance and character of the League as a research center in international relations, it also describes the instruments and character of the relations within the jurisdiction and influence of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	3
The Problem, 3; The Instruments of Research, 12.	

PART ONE: THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

I. AGENCIES FOR PLANNING AND ENCOURAGING RESEARCH .	23
Foundations	23
Carnegie Institutions, 24; Carnegie Corporation, 25; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 26; The Rockefeller Foundation, 30; Other Foundations, 32.	
Coordinating Councils	37
Social Science Research Council, 38; American Council of Learned Societies, 42; National Research Council, 44.	
II. CENTERS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS .	47
Washington as a Research Center	47
Government Departments, 48; Library of Congress, 54; Pan American Union, 56; Smithsonian Institu- tion, 58; Research Organizations with Headquarters at Washington, 60.	
Centers for the Study of International Relations Outside the National Capital	61
Metropolitan Centers, 61; Universities, 63; Libraries, 69; Museums, 72.	
III. ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RESEARCH IN INTER- NATIONAL RELATIONS	75
Organizations Dealing with International Relations Gen- erally	75
Council on Foreign Relations, 76; Institute of Current World Affairs, 80; Foreign Policy Association, 81; World Peace Foundation, 83; Cooperative Activities of the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation, 85.	

Organizations Dealing with International Relations in Special Fields	87
American Geographical Society, 87; The Brookings Institution, 90; National Bureau of Economic Research, 92; National Industrial Conference Board, 93; The Taylor Society, 95; Industrial Relations Counselors, 96.	
Professional Associations, Learned Societies, and Academies	96
Professional Associations, 96; Societies of Engineers, 99; Associations of Lawyers, 101; Learned Societies, 103; Academies, 112.	
Organizations in Universities	114
International Relations Research Bureaus, 114; Local Organizations for International Research, 116; Food and Population Research, 117; Institutes and Conferences, 119; International Relations Schools, 126.	
IV. BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	130
General Character and Environment	130
Financial Institutions	135
The Institute of International Finance, 135; Foreign Bondholders Protective Councils, 136; Federal Reserve Bank of New York, 137; Commercial Banks, 138; Sources of Foreign Credit Information, 140; Financial Information Service Organizations, 141.	
Foreign Trade Promotion Agencies	142
Chambers of Commerce, 142; Trade Associations, 147; Foreign Trade Associations, 151; Webb-Pomerene Associations, 156; Agricultural Cooperative Associations, 156; Foreign Trade Publications, 157.	
Miscellaneous Associations	158
The American Arbitration Association, 158; The American Tariff League, 159.	
The Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce	159
The Individual Firm and the Future	160

CONTENTS

xv

PART TWO: DISCIPLINES OF STUDY AND RESEARCH

V. THE COORDINATION OF DISCIPLINES	167
VI. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: A GENERAL SURVEY	171
A New Academic Subject	171
The New International Emphasis on the Investigations by Governments and by the Social Sciences	173
The Problem of Cooperative Research	176
VII. ECONOMICS	180
International Relations and College Teaching	180
International Relations in Graduate Study	182
Effect of the War upon Economic Investigation	184
Opportunities for Economic Study	186
VIII. INTERNATIONAL LAW	189
American Study and Interest in International Law	189
International Law Associations	191
Teaching of International Law	193
Research in International Law	195
IX. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	197
College and University Study in General	197
Political Science and the Study of International Relations	199
History and Contemporary International Relations	203
Economics and the Study of International Relations	207
Coordination of Departments for the Study of Interna- tional Relations	208
Miscellaneous Influences Contributing to the Study of International Relations	211
The National Institution of Public Affairs	213
Research Publications	214
Published Dissertations	214

PART THREE: REGIONAL FIELDS OF STUDY AND RESEARCH

X. EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	223
XI. THE PACIFIC AREA	226
Importance of Far Eastern Studies	226

Agencies Encouraging and Coordinating Research	228
Institute of Pacific Relations, 228; Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the Council of Learned Societies, 231; Miscellaneous Societies and Foundations, 233; Fellowships, 235.	
Opportunities for Study	236
College and University Courses, 236; Libraries and Museums, 238; Language, 239; Doctoral Dissertations, 240; Primary and Secondary Education, 241.	
Teacher and Student Exchange	243
Agencies for Developing General Interest	245
The Institute of Pacific Relations	248
The Institute Conferences: Coordination of Discussion and Research, 249; Policies and Problems of the Institute, 252; Dissemination of Results, 261.	
XII. LATIN AMERICA	263
Beginnings of the Study in Universities	263
Dissertations and Theses	263
College and University Courses	264
Cooperative Researches and Publications	265
Societies and Institutions Interested in Latin America	268
Periodicals	275
Source Material Collections	275
Interchange of Professors and Students	276
XIII. CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS	280
College and University Courses	280
History and Importance of the History of Canada in Collegiate and University Courses of Study	285
Graduate Study	288
Published Doctoral Dissertations	289
Extra-curricula Aids	292
Publications: Journals, Source Material, Texts, 292; Fellowships, 294; Grants-in-Aid, 295; Special Publications and Lectures, 298.	
A Project of Research in Canadian-American Relations	299

PART FOUR: EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

XIV. STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS	307
Factors Determining the Character of the American Systems of Education	307
The Present Situation in Elementary and Secondary Education	310
The Survey by the Office of Education, Department of the Interior	313
Examples of Programs for the Study of International Relations	315
World Citizenship Programs in Progressive Private Schools	320
Special Research concerning Social Studies in the Schools	323
Textbooks	325
College Entrance Examinations	328
The Influence of Private Organizations within the Schools	329
The Study of International Relations in Teachers Training Institutions	333
Resolutions of Teachers Organizations Bearing upon International Relations	335
Summary	336
XV. AGENCIES FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	338
General Character	338
Organizations Primarily Interested in International Relations	345
Organizations Which Take No Stand on Policy, 345;	
Organizations Advocating Definite Policies, 351.	
Organizations Secondarily Interested in International Relations	360
Secular Organizations, 361; Religious Organizations, 367; Missionary Organizations, 380.	
Public Information Services	384
The Press, 384; Press Releases, 385; The Cinema, 387;	
The Radio, 388.	

XVI. CHANNELS OF INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CONTACT .	393
Their Character	393
American Student Organizations	394
International Student Exchanges	406
Travel Agencies: Educational and Non-Profit-Making .	409
Summer Schools in Europe	416
Exchange of Professors and Lecturers	419
European Information Centers	426
PART FIVE: THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, AND STUDY AND RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	
XVII. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RESEARCH	435
The Organization of the League	435
The International Labor Organization and Its Problems	442
XVIII. ORGANIZATION FOR INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CO- OPERATION	445
International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation .	445
International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation .	447
International Studies Conference	448
American National Committee on International Intellec- tural Cooperation	449

PART SIX: INDEX-DIRECTORY, 455

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

by JAMES T. SHOTWELL

THE PROBLEM AND THE INSTRUMENTS OF RE- SEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE PROBLEM

THIS book is the register of a new interest in the life and thought of the people of the United States. Practically everything covered by it is the creation of recent years and most of it, of the period following the World War. In hardly more than a generation this country has undertaken to adjust itself to a world of nations, from which throughout its previous history it held itself singularly apart. The change in outlook which this involves has been little short of revolutionary, and yet its significance has not been fully recognized even by those whose task it has been to measure the movements of social and political forces. A year ago a vast survey was made of the social trends dominant or noticeable in the United States today, which left out of its purview the subject of international relations as though it were either foreign to the American mind or of only incidental and external interest.¹

This failure to appreciate the importance of the changing attitude of the United States with reference to the outside world is probably chiefly due to the fact that, unprecedented as has been the effort to make the new adjustment, it is still only a beginning, and the consciousness of what is yet to be done, the sense of inadequacy in what has been attempted, tends to blind us to the significance of the fact itself—the outstanding fact that this country in assuming its place as a world power is consciously preparing itself for the new era by research and study, education and discussion in all parts of the country.

¹ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 2 vols. McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933.

There are two ways of measuring the importance of social events, the analytical and the historical. The former examines the elements at work with an eye to the future outcome, judging validity by performance. The latter notes the displacement which the movements create in the drift of human events. When the phenomenon is too vast or too complex for any accurate forecasting of its effect, the historical method is to be preferred, for it reveals in perspective what is obscure in detail. We may therefore get a clearer impression of what is involved in this new American interest in international affairs by a glance at the history which lies behind it, not only of the movement as a whole, but also of the separate parts with which this survey deals.

The future historian of what we call modern times will probably be struck more by the similarity of the history of different nations than by the elements of unlikeness and contrast. It is a strange fact that peoples of widely different cultures and circumstances have built their national states along lines so like each other as to be outwardly almost identical. This common pattern had a common symbol—sovereignty. Sovereignty meant, in theory at least, that the state achieving it was free henceforth to concentrate upon its own peculiar problems, especially those dealing with domestic questions. In Europe, however, this liberty for a nation to work out its own destiny was hampered in practice by the fact that interested neighbors were so close at hand. The United States had no such limitations. It was not obliged to fit itself into a map already crowded with other claimants. It had nothing to fear from the continuation of the process which had given it independence, for no new sovereign states were to be carved out of its territory and it had no reason to fear the two neighbors it had left, Canada and Mexico. There was no need to maintain the anxious vigilance with which the nations of the European continent surveyed each other's progress. Therefore it was natural that national sovereignty should be glorified in both the theory of the political scientist and the opinion of the citizen.

This trend towards national self-concentration was accentuated by both history and geography. No other nation has had its school children begin their knowledge of politics by reciting or

learning by heart a "Declaration of Independence." No other nation could so readily find, in the teachings of its founders, warnings against involvement in the affairs of other nations. But above all, distance was the abiding safeguard of isolation. It is almost impossible now to imagine what barriers the oceans formerly presented to contact with Europe or Asia. Even down to the latter part of the nineteenth century, the nations of Europe were almost as far away from the world of American reality as ancient Greece or Rome. Their literatures were studied in the same detached spirit of appreciation of those elements which were universal or those which had the charm of distance and romance. Still more important, however, than the oceans on either side was the continent at home. There are few themes of history greater than that of the conquest of the wilderness, divers peoples building a homogeneous nation, fusing their interests into a stable, but adjustable, State and by unrelenting energy endowing it with economic power beyond any other in the world. No wonder that America should center its interest upon its own achievement.

With the turning of the century the United States opened a new chapter of its history, but one that was equally American. The wealth that had been won was developing a new feudalism in industry and finance. Problems of economic adjustment pressed for a solution. Social legislation began to emerge; politics took a new turn; radicalism was still popularly confused with revolution, but the moral fervor of reform could count upon the heritage of Puritan ideals, and, with religion as its ally, fought many battles before the "Armageddon" of Theodore Roosevelt's Progressives. But this movement, however great its contrast to the previous trend of *laissez faire* America, was also largely local and national, concentrating upon domestic issues. There was, therefore, throughout American history down to our own day a continuing and consistent theme which gave the keynote to American thinking. No other history seemed quite like ours, no other set of circumstances similar to those which determined the course of events on this continent. Foreigners were different. The world outside was not the same as ours.

It is commonly said that the war with Spain marked the emer-

gence of a national interest in international affairs; but the interest was as yet only incidental and was not widely shared. "Manifest destiny" had been understood when it was applied to the winning of the South-West; it was somewhat unreal when applied to the Philippines. There was a new pride in the fleet that sailed around the world, but it was a long way from that gesture to the beginning of a policy of making the United States "a naval power second to none" and a still longer way from thoughts of international cooperation in naval disarmament. The steel trust was pioneering on the frontiers of international business, but the significance of this fact did not become apparent until years later, and then only to the student of economic history. That the continental outlook remained dominant in spite of these indications of a changing situation was clearly shown in the years 1914 to 1917 by the way in which the United States held to its neutrality in the War, and by its political as well as material unpreparedness to enter the lists of the belligerents.

It is against this background that one must judge the character and measure the extent of the movement covered by this survey. To make our measurement more exact, however, let us pass in review the various fields covered by it, following the order of the survey itself.

First of all there are the bodies which have been created to plan and encourage research in international relations. The pioneer institution among these was the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. When it was founded in 1910 sober-minded people looked askance at it as the idealistic foible of a multimillionaire, and it was only by the distinction of its original members and the caution of its program that it made a place for itself as a serious enterprise. Up to that time the peace movement had been mainly an adventure in idealism. The word "pacifist" bore almost the same stigma as "internationalist." It was thought to be inconsistent with patriotism. In any event it played little part in practical politics. It is true that the state system of the nineteenth century had been steadily narrowing the scope of war by an extension of neutrality, for even anarchy—and the national state system was anarchical—develops a sense of mutual

rights without which even it cannot exist. Nevertheless neutrality is only an expedient of the fortunate; it does not solve conflicts but avoids those of others. Unless the peace movement could influence the policies of nations in a more constructive way, it had little to offer. The only experience of this kind which had received the sanction of governments was the development of arbitration, in which the United States was about as far along in the eighties as it is today. It is true that the Hague Conferences had done something to systematize arbitration and to secure consent to limitation of the laws of war; but although this now seems like the presage of a new era it made but slight impression upon the policies of nations and hardly more upon the public mind. In short, the peace movement, prior to the World War, although it had devoted adherents, was not taken seriously and was on the defensive. Now the Carnegie Endowment is but a single agency among many in every country symbolizing the advent of a new force in international relations and a new, and at times dominant, interest in the world of politics.

The other foundations which have been established in this field have in some instances turned from missionary effort or scientific cooperation to the more pressing task of securing that degree of international understanding which will guarantee the permanence of their contributions to the society of nations. In some instances they have come into the field to deal more directly and practically with outstanding issues of international misunderstanding. No person now questions the validity or the urgency of the effort.

The Social Science Research Council, as well as the American Council of Learned Societies which deals with humanistic studies, and the National Research Council, which deals with data of political sciences, are creations of the post-War period. So far as the social and political sciences are concerned, a generation ago they reflected the national state system in politics and the capitalist system in economics with a confidence in the ultimate reality of their doctrines which is almost at the opposite pole from the method and content of their work today. In the School of Political Science at Columbia University which held a proud po-

sition among its fellows, the principle of the sovereignty of the national state was laid down in the absolute terms of the philosophy of Bluntschli. The power of government to act in domestic matters was held in check by that safeguard of the liberties of the citizen, the Supreme Court, but both were the agencies of a state which dealt with other states in terms of power. Public law and political science got no further than the comparative study of constitutions. The rest was left for the study of diplomacy and international law, neither of which dealt with the problems of a world community in which the common interests of nations tended to take shape in multilateral agreements and to create international agreements for carrying them out.

Under these conditions it was but natural that the research organizations both within universities and outside them should lack the content and interest of today. But even more striking is the absence in the pre-War world of any of those organizations which pass on the results of research in international relations to the informed and intelligent public. The Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, and all similar bodies of any importance date from the period of the World War or the years immediately following. The Brookings Institution and the Bureau of Economic Research were born of the need for reorientation in the shifting currents of these recent years.

Thus one might continue in this detailed analysis the cumulative proof of its changing outlook in the scientific study of human relations. A similar change, fully as great, has taken place in what might be called the social outlook and in public opinion generally. Such organizations as the nineteenth century provided for what we today call "adult education" dealt with other things than the problems of peace and war. Men's associations did not meet to debate on questions of foreign affairs, and women's clubs, which now are sometimes as well informed on the geography of Manchuria or the Polish Corridor as that of their own state, were then listening to papers on Longfellow or Browning.

There can be no doubt that the immediate cause of this new interest of the United States in international affairs was the World War. The shock of surprise and horror with which the

country watched the events of August, 1914, deeply as it was felt, was not enough to call out anything more than a temporary reaction. When the War settled down to a stalemate in the trenches on the Western front, interest in it lessened except on the part of a very small minority who were regarded by the rest as having more European, than American, interests. By the summer of 1915 the crowds that watched the bulletins on newspaper offices watched more eagerly for the baseball scores than for the news of battles. In the election of 1916 both candidates appealed to the electorate on the basis of non-intervention and aloofness. It was not until American entrance into the War in the spring of 1917 that a change occurred, a change in which the leadership of Woodrow Wilson played a dominant part. Then on all sides the question was asked, mostly in bewilderment and often with poignant urgency, what were the issues at stake which called for conscription. When the President's war measures set forth the reasons for American belligerency hundreds of thousands of private citizens wrote to Washington to ask for further light upon a problem the solution of which was now to touch them so intimately. It is true that the country responded to the call to arms without waiting for the full explanation prepared by historians in voluntary service at Washington. It is equally true that later these explanations were criticized and in part discarded under the influence of post-War propaganda. But from May, 1917, the United States ceased to live its life apart from all the other nations. Even in those very years when it turned its back upon Wilsonian idealism it was pouring its money into investments overseas until, in the quiet days of Coolidge's conservatism and reaction, it had a financial empire abroad that was equal to all the wealth of the New England States outside Massachusetts, or of everything contained in Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, combined. This was the private investment of American citizens, not that of the Government. The country that refused to join the League of Nations for fear of involvements had become the greatest creditor nation in the world and thus acquired a continuing interest in countries of which it knew almost nothing in 1914.

Even the long debate concerning the League of Nations resulted in the paradox that the United States came to know the issues involved in League membership better than some of the nations which accepted the Covenant. And the vitality of the peace movement was finally evidenced in the support given by M. Briand's invitation to join in an anti-war treaty, which was received enthusiastically throughout the country at large, whatever cynicism there may have been in Congress.

It is possible to argue that the country went from one extreme to the other, and that the post-War years have been as unsound in political ideals as in economic practice. In the opinion of conservatives the attempt to organize peace in the Covenant of the League, the Kellogg Pact, and the movement for disarmament is as futile as the war to end war. This is not the place to argue either for or against, but, as in the case of the debate over American entrance into the League, the controversy as to the validity of the peace movements resulted in heightened interest in the problem itself.

There is, however, one aspect of the controversy which must be dealt with here. It is whether or not this era of experimentation in international relations is but a temporary variation from the normal interests of the United States or whether it is but the initial stage of a permanent change in outlook. So far as an answer can be found to this question it lies in our interpretation of the greatest event in our time, which is not the World War, nor post-War politics, nor the world depression, but something infinitely more important than even these. It is the advent of science. According to one interpretation, this is the beginning of a condition of human society radically different from any that has gone before. It means not only the conquest of time and space but a complete readjustment of the activities of mankind. On the other hand, it is held that men and nations continue to act from the same motives as before, that communications do not help nations to understand each other, but tend, if anything, to intensify their differences, and that the maladjustments which result from new inventions bring further conflict instead of co-operation. Holding to this latter point of view Judge John Bassett

Moore has denounced the conception of a world community which has the underlying postulate of the League of Nations as a mischievous delusion, and treaties renouncing war as fraught with dangerous consequences. The only safety lies, according to him, in a return to the nineteenth-century way of thinking. The post-War experiments are dream logic.

From the standpoint of this survey Judge John Bassett Moore's attack ² is of special interest, because if it is valid much of what is here described comes under the caption of "somnambulistic thinking." It is clear that if the growth of communications makes no difference in the relations of nations to each other there can never be a community of nations, for communication making for the growth of communities has been the chief agent in bringing together these communities which grow into nations. Without the railroads of the United States, or the seaways of Great Britain, neither country could have achieved its political destiny. The roads of Rome were political, as well as engineering, facts in the history of the Empire. What reason, then, is there to expect that the process that creates the State is one that stops at its frontier? Surely the present depression leads to another conclusion. The interdependence of nations in the industrial era of today has no parallel in the agricultural economy of the past. The Wall Street crisis of 1929 turned out to be a chapter in the history of England, Austria, Germany, and France almost as definitely as in that of the United States. As for the belief that these new problems of adjustment formed but an interlude in history it should be pointed out that there is a difference in kind between the relationships of the prescientific age and those of today. The characteristic of the prescientific age was repetition—the past furnished the model for the present and for the future. The characteristic of the scientific age is eternal change, change which grows in geometric ratio with every scientific invention and discovery. For each new discovery creates a further displacement which in turn calls for further instruments of adjustment. The advent of the sciences is therefore a fundamental break in the technique of living. Intelligence is now taking on the task which formerly was

² "An Appeal to Reason" in *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1933.

left to the routine of nature, into which human strength fitted as best it could. Moreover, the present depression has already shown us that this problem is not one of casual academic interest but a vital need for the preservation of civilization. The control over nature has already reached the point where the ominous menace of increasing unemployment offers a positive danger to the structure of society, unless we can bring the same kind of creative thinking and constructive planning to secure intelligent consideration of human relations as well as those of the blind forces of nature.

This is the supreme task of the social sciences, and the field of international relations offers the best of laboratories for their study. In the first place, the data of the problem are already partly isolated and are ready for analysis. In the second place, although the data are in many instances too recent for final conclusions or for summing up a statement of general principles, they are free from that encrusted prejudice and tradition which tends so much to distort the meaning of past events. Finally, because the problems are so largely conditioned by the scientific technique, they can be more readily envisaged from the scientific standpoint than the older historical developments. And yet the very first condition of scientific analysis of this era of change would be the recognition of the continuing influence of unintelligence, prejudice, and tradition, against which the new forces of intelligence so often fight a losing battle.

THE INSTRUMENTS OF RESEARCH

At first sight it would seem as though the growth of the field has been paralleled by the growth of research and research institutions, both official and unofficial. In the unofficial world, apart from the increase of research activities in colleges and universities, a whole new series of institutions has come into existence in the last few years, devoted to research in some, or all, of the social sciences. But it is doubtful if this extension of private interest is anything like so large as the growth of government activities in the same general field. So definite, indeed, has this official action become, that it is one of the outstanding movements in the

present day history of politics. And yet, as will be seen in the course of this survey, the final work of adjusting these two so as to interpret adequately the most pressing questions of our time has not yet been undertaken.

No government would today seriously boast of a policy of "muddling through," as was the case with England in the nineteenth century. The Soviet proposal for a Five-Year Plan was soon paralleled, though in less rigid form, in a number of such plans in capitalistic countries. Indeed, the most notable fact of the history of contemporary politics is the extent to which politicians have begun experimenting with "planned economy." While most of this experimentation is still in the initial stages, its effect upon government is already marked. The departments and bureaus of most of the governments of today are busy with investigations and statistical analyses of data before proceeding to formulate plans of any importance.

This effort to calculate the pressures which shape themselves into policies is a new phase of the activity of governments. It was first brought home to this country by the post-War emphasis upon the phrase "government by commission." Unfortunately, however, that experiment was not given a fair and full trial, the facts found by the fact-finding bodies not being used to determine policy if the facts prove contrary to existing prejudices. In the recent months a much more impressive effort has been made to inject systematic thinking into the process of politics; but the reaction against too much logic and reason is already making itself felt. Government tends to be more responsive to the opinion about facts than to the facts themselves. Indeed, it is not far wrong to suggest that politics differs from the scientific consideration of means to an end in just this regard, that its interest centers upon what people think other people might be thinking about if they did this or that, rather than on what would be the effect of doing the thing itself. It is this last consideration which is in the mind of those whom we term the "practical politicians." From the scientific point of view, practical politics is one of the most unpractical operations. Instead of moving directly towards the logical conclusions of what one wants to do, it is influenced by

the sentiments and emotions which spring from unrelated or only tentatively related impulses. Practical politics is, however, practical in this sense, that it takes these influences into account in judging the possibilities of action.

What the politician charges against what he calls the "academic mind" is that in its preparation of programs or proposals in the political or social field it fails to take into account what people are likely to do, in its concentration over what should be done. Latterly, however, the social sciences have made it as much a point to study these inhibitions which disturb and deflect the reactions of society as any other part of their problem. Indeed, the scientific analysis is clearly lacking in completeness if it fails to take into account the very fundamental basis of political action, which is opinion.

This fact at once opens up the major difficulty in international relations, for questions between nations are seldom matters of fact. They are much more questions of motives and attitudes. At least, one may say that questions of war and peace are almost invariably those which rest upon an emotional rather than a factual basis. The technique of pacific settlement, therefore, has concentrated to a corresponding degree upon bringing such questions out of the emotional and into the factual realm. This is the basis of a whole technique of "conciliation," which is the chief method of preventing war employed by the League of Nations. The purpose is to isolate from its emotional setting the exact issue which is the substance of dispute. Once the issue is known and both parties agree to it, we are already out of politics and into the atmosphere of arbitration. The question then becomes either arbitrable or justiciable.

This reminder that international politics must work away from the distorting media of preconception and prejudice toward the technique of analysis, which is at the same time the scientific technique, is a fundamental fact not to be lost sight of; for if the technique of research is, as we have pointed out above, merely the extension and application in detail of this kind of sanity in political thinking, the uses of it for purposes of international understanding do not denature the technique in the way

in which it is bound to suffer in the customary practices of politics. On the contrary, the practical application of research to the solution of international problems strengthens research and sound policies of pacific settlement at the same time.

But whatever services research may render in the practical field of international relations, any measure of success in this field presents an additional danger of another kind; for scientific thinking loses its major justification if it is held down to a program of expediency and given only those tasks which promise immediate returns. It should have the free range of human experience, whether or not that experience is directed towards practical ends. If, in going beneath the spontaneous emotional reactions to situations to find out just what is involved in the situations themselves, it hits upon practical suggestions, so much the better; but the furtherance of the scientific method involves an interest in that method rather than in the temporary results of its application.

If the above principles hold, it follows that the sound line of approach in developing research in international relations is to ensure the establishment or strengthen the functioning of bodies of research in the different countries capable of taking on the task. It has seemed essential, therefore, that in dealing with international questions, the political sciences should follow the precedent set by international law, and develop institutions in the different countries for the purpose of securing a consistent and scientific study of those matters which are pertinent to their own disciplines in history, economics, sociology and public law. Most of the problems which are of vital interest in the up-building of an international community are deeply rooted in the histories or circumstances of the various countries, and call for highly specialized research. It is not enough that outstanding and brilliant scholars may here and there break down the bars of prejudice to secure an open-minded examination of the issues which affect both the outlook and the policies of nations, issues which may either separate or bring nations together according to the way in which they may be envisaged. While the individual investigator or the temporary mobilization of investigation will always

play an important rôle in the clarification of public opinion, this is not sufficient to enable us to build upon it as a sure foundation, adequate to meet the increasing demands for international understanding in the widening scope of economic and political contacts. The situation cannot be met by creating a superlatively good institution in any one country and drawing students to it from other parts of the world. For the problems to be dealt with in international affairs are so deeply rooted in the soil from which they arise that it puts a premium upon theoretical and academic ways of thinking if they are studied solely from a distance.

These apparently axiomatic facts were not insisted on sufficiently in the early days of international research. That research was carried on chiefly as a result of the personal interest of individual researchers or of organizations created for the purpose of solving some problem or set of problems, under the urge of political, economic or moral pressures. The natural result of this haphazard method was to concentrate attention upon outstanding facts rather than on fundamental, though perhaps obscure, data, and especially upon crises calling for immediate solution. At its best this method creates no sound precedent for future development; at its worst, it places the emphasis upon abnormalities in national conduct rather than upon the normal ways of thinking and acting. A scientific study of national behavior under normal conditions is a necessary preliminary to the understanding of why nations act as they do when crises come. The only way to deal adequately with the problem is to deal with it as a whole, and this can only be done by securing the establishment of pertinent and continuing organizations of research.

But the problem cannot be studied as a whole unless the social sciences take account of more than the narrow limits of established fact. They must deal also with the processes of change, watching the drift of opinion in the mind of a nation while it gathers the momentum or meets the check which is registered in policy. The problems to be studied are those which arise from the changing social, economic, and political organization of the modern world and these are fully as much the product of a growing consciousness of the changed situation as they are of the mate-

rial facts in the actual shift of relationships. International relations undoubtedly respond to the stimuli that are rooted in what might be called the subconscious national mind, but when they shape themselves in terms of policy they must, at least in a democratic society, correspond with known desires and conscious national attitudes. These are seldom reached by philosophic thinking or scientific analysis; they are far more the product, on the one hand, of folk ways which are an historic heritage, and on the other, of a new awareness of the actual needs of daily life expressed in what we call public opinion. It follows, therefore, that a survey of the field of research in international relations, if it is to present a true perspective of the field as a whole, must include, not only the existing body of research, but the underlying elements in the formation of a national outlook; otherwise the result is a static measurement of scientific activity in a field which is preeminently dynamic in character. Even in the short period of time during which the subject of international relations has come to the fore—that since the opening of the World War—the shift in scientific interest has been a reflection of the shift in national interest or has, at least to some extent, been a measure of the larger change in outlook.

Therefore, it has been considered desirable to cover in this survey, not only the purely scientific interest in the problems themselves, but also those activities which create them or apply them to the life and thought of a people. It is only thus that the results of research can be measured. The sciences that deal with human relations do not fall into the two divisions of the exact sciences: that of the pure science on the one hand, and of applied science on the other. The analogy does not hold. Pure science in the field of human relations is scholasticism. It may trace the laws of formal logic or build up the dream logic of metaphysics, but it cannot analyze the realities of a changing and inconstant world without a knowledge of the data of the changes themselves, as to their cause, direction, and effect. This knowledge in turn is only to be obtained by the observation of society in action. In a democratic society this involves, not only the study of the formative elements which determine public opinion,

but also the processes by which opinion shapes itself into national ideals and translates itself into policy. Of these processes study and research are primary. But there is a process of corporate thinking in which experience tests ideas. Its technique is that of discussion rather than research. No survey of the shifting outlook of Americans in the social, economic, or political world today would be complete which ignored the rôle of discussion in shaping and reshaping the results of research for application in the varied fields of practical affairs. This survey, therefore, deals almost as largely with discussion as with research.

In this connection a word should be said as to the relation of discussion to research. Properly organized, the discussion of research by those qualified to take part in it is a continuation of the process of research. It calls for a reexamination of all three elements in the operation of scientific work, a questioning or restatement of: first, those provisional hypotheses upon which the problems are set; second, the data gathered together in support of these hypotheses; and third, the method employed in research and conclusions. But admittedly few discussions even in scientific bodies realize their full possibilities in this regard.

It is evident that the first step in the creation of adequate machinery for the study of international problems is to ensure that in the countries concerned there shall be satisfactory provision for the study of the social sciences generally. Quite apart from the influence of competent teachers, well-stocked libraries are as essential for the social sciences as are laboratories for the physical sciences.

The need of first building up the social sciences as such, as a prerequisite for research in international relations, can best be illustrated by the experience of China. When the Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations set to work upon Chinese problems it was found necessary to concentrate that work in a few centers where the social sciences were represented adequately, if scantily, by a number of well-trained men who were provided with at least the beginnings of collections of reference material and current literature.

To take two outstanding examples: in the University of Nanking there has been a Department of Agricultural Economics which furnishes a nucleus for scientific work, both by the competence of the professors in charge and the opportunity for field work through specially trained students. Similarly, the professors of Economics at the University of Nankai, in Tientsin, were well placed for a study of the effects of industrialization on China and of the migration into Manchuria. For the first time these problems were dealt with in statistical laboratories. The initial output of centers like these in China shows what a revolutionary change is produced when the problems of a country are dealt with otherwise than by case work. The first task, therefore, in developing research in international relations is to strengthen these centers of research so that they can deal adequately with the problems in hand. This applies to both personnel and material.

The same situation arises in greater or less degree in all other countries. In some cases all that is needed is the mere readjustment of existing establishments, bringing them more up to date in methods of equipment; in other cases it is better to build anew without regard to existing institutions. In the very nature of the case it is impossible to prepare a single program or to follow any single model in setting up similar institutions for research in different countries. There are some countries where the existing assets are not used to advantage, where the dead hand of tradition is maintaining an outworn medievalism in both method and outlook. There are others where local rivalries, both personal and official, have prevented a proper degree of coordination in subject matter and collaboration among the professors. The conclusion is that coordinating agencies, such as the national council of the Institute of Pacific Relations or the Social Science Research Council, are essential instruments in securing well-rounded policies of research and adequate cooperation in their execution.

Constructive planning in this field has now reached the point at which a survey of existing institutions of research and of their setting in the intellectual and political life of the various countries concerned is absolutely essential. The demand for such a

guide to the study of international relations has been made at almost every meeting of research bodies dealing with this subject. It was the first project laid before the Social Science Research Council in 1927 when, for the first time, the Council recognized international relations as a distinct area of research. The need for it was emphasized by the Institute of Pacific Relations for coordinating the studies in its wide program with those of a similar nature in other parts of the world. The International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations has insisted upon its importance in connection with the work of the Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations. It was to meet the obligations of American membership in this European organization that a preliminary draft of the present survey was prepared.

PART ONE

THE ORGANIZATION OF RESEARCH

CHAPTER I

AGENCIES FOR PLANNING AND ENCOURAGING RESEARCH

FOUNDATIONS

ALTHOUGH, upon the whole, research is among the least mercenary of occupations, the researcher having as his chief reward the prospect of discovery or the advancement of knowledge, nevertheless, research, like education, can make only limited progress unless it is adequately supplied with materials and instruments, and the workers guaranteed a livelihood. The growth of research in recent years has, therefore, been made possible to a large extent by endowments and foundations, just as in the case of the medieval universities. These drew their vitality from the intellectual curiosity of scholars, but their founders were the wealthy and the powerful who supplied homes for learning and funds for instruction. This movement of the thirteenth century has been closely paralleled in the United States in the twentieth century.

It is no part of this survey to attempt to measure the funds which private beneficiaries have thus made available for furthering the study of international relations, nor to attempt to draw the frontier between voluntary and subsidized effort. Much of the work described in subsequent chapters has been carried on by organizations or individuals out of their own frequently inadequate resources. Endowments and foundations, however, which draw their funds from capitalistic enterprises, have naturally varied greatly in recent years, both in capital and in income. It is therefore impossible to get even an approximate total of the amount of money annually put into international research in the United States. A study of *American Foundations and Their Fields*, prepared by the Twentieth Century Fund and published in 1932 (the latest attempt to survey their activities) showed that of the 129 foundations or special endowment organizations which reported, fourteen made grants specifically for activities in the field of international relations. These grants for projects in the study of international relations, as listed, totaled approximately \$1,850,000; but of this amount, according to this same report, only about one-tenth was given specifically for

research, while one-fourth was for education in this field, and the rest was for what the study calls "social action."

This amount is clearly much less than the real total. In addition a number of foundations make substantial grants for fellowships for study in the field of international relations; other foundations, such as those administering Rockefeller and Carnegie endowments, allocate money to other organizations which may eventually use it for the study of international relations or foreign affairs. A considerable sum is used for research in the international field by special organizations connected with the several universities; large sums are spent in the study of international trade relations by business and financial organizations.¹ Also, American donations supply a fairly large part of the money for work of international bodies engaged in research in the social sciences, and for the maintenance of special research organizations abroad.

The two most important private endowments for work affecting the social sciences are those established by Mr. Andrew Carnegie and Mr. John D. Rockefeller. According to the study made by the Twentieth Century Fund just quoted, it would seem that these two foundations have at their disposal about 57 percent of the known, or estimated, capital funds of the 129 foundations covered by the report. In each case, apart from the support given other institutions, there has been set up a group of organizations devoted to the furtherance of special fields of knowledge. Of these the Carnegie bodies have been, upon the whole, more concerned with the science of human relationships, while the Rockefeller interests have centered more upon the physical, biological, and medical sciences. The field of education has been common to both, the unifying elements in all being an interest in human welfare.

CARNEGIE INSTITUTIONS

Although, of the institutions bearing Mr. Carnegie's name, the Endowment for International Peace is the one which comes most definitely within the scope of this survey, at least three others are concerned more or less with the study of international relations or with the problems which underlie them. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching has exercised far-reaching influence upon the standards of education, especially in American colleges. The Carnegie Institution of Washington is devoted to the furtherance of the sciences, and has included social sciences among these, especially history and economics. Its historical section, which was for many years the home of the *Ameri-*

¹ Cf. Chapter IV, pp. 135 ff.

can Historical Review, has done much to explore libraries and archives in Europe for the sources of American and of diplomatic history.² In economics it has produced a comprehensive, cooperative series entitled, *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, and an *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*. Its interests in anthropological and archæological explorations are equally well known; but it has left to its sister organizations the field of international politics. The Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, a fourth institution bearing Mr. Carnegie's name, is concerned with international affairs through its academic program, as is any other collegiate institution. The Institute, however, has won distinction in that category through its annual art exhibitions which are international in scope.³

CARNEGIE CORPORATION

The Carnegie Corporation is the central body, most liberally endowed, consisting as it does of the residue of Mr. Carnegie's fortune after he had made specific provision for the various interests which the other endowments serve. It has, therefore, from time to time assisted these bodies in the furtherance of their programs in addition to extensive grants to other institutions or activities. Its field is limited, however, to the United States and the British Dominions and Colonies, but within these territorial limits it has the widest possible scope, having been founded "for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, Canada, the British Dominions and Colonies." In carrying out these purposes it has done much for the arts, as well as for the sciences. While most of its funds have been spent to endow or to strengthen institutions, it has also shown a special interest in those individuals who are capable of making an outstanding contribution to the sum total of human betterment.

² The 444 publications listed in the *Catalogue of Publications of the Carnegie Institution of Washington*, May, 1933, include the whole range of disciplines from archæology, anthropology, astronomy, through folklore, genetics, geology, to terrestrial magnetism and zoology. Of the total, 39 were in history and economics. Several of this number, however, are in two or more volumes. Those in history include an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, by Dr. Charles O. Paullin, and *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies, to 1848*, by Dr. Frances G. Davenport. A large proportion of the volumes are guides to the archives in Washington and in foreign countries. For example, the *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, has its counterpart for Russian, Spanish, Mexican, Cuban, Italian, and Canadian archives as well as for those deposited in Berlin, Paris and London. There are also a few miscellaneous works including three studies in the constitutional organization of the Argentine Republic, of Brazil, and of Peru.

³ These are mentioned in the section on Museums, p. 74.

Its contributions have made possible the work of such institutions as the Institute of International Education, the American Association for Adult Education, and some of the major projects of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. They have also vastly increased the capacity of other organizations, such as The Brookings Institution of Washington, both by original contributions to their building fund and by later subsidies, and by their very substantial gifts to the National Research Council. It is no part of this survey to furnish lists of these wide-spread and generous benefactions, for the gifts of the Carnegie Corporation are published annually in the report of its president and treasurer. With the exception of grants to institutions and projects within the British Dominions and Colonies, the Corporation has only indirectly contributed to the furtherance of international activities, leaving those to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nevertheless, as its interest extends over the entire field of knowledge, it has strengthened and furthered the arts and the humanities, as well as the sciences, both by coordination with existing institutions and by the stimulation of activity in areas otherwise ill equipped for higher education. From time to time, however, the Corporation gives direct assistance to institutions or projects dealing with international relations. In 1934, for example, the International Conference of the International Statistical Institute at London, the Study of Cooperation in West Africa (already undertaken by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures), and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (British Commonwealth Relations Conference) were all recipients of subventions from the Carnegie Corporation.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE

While all the Carnegie Institutions affect international relations in one or more aspects of their work, the Institution which was founded for the specific purpose of bettering international relations as such is the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.⁴ This Institution stands unique in the field of international relations and has perhaps exerted the largest single influence in the United States and throughout the world in the furtherance of better understanding between nations. It was founded in 1910 by an original grant of \$10,000,000 to a Board

⁴ For a full description of the activities of this and other divisions of the Endowment the reader is directed to the *Annual Reports* of the Directors and the Endowment's *Year Book*. The Endowment also publishes yearly the lists of its publications.

of Trustees, under the Presidency of Mr. Elihu Root, who was succeeded in 1925 by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler. From the first it was organized in three Divisions: that of Intercourse and Education, under the direction of Dr. Butler; that of International Law, with Dr. James Brown Scott as director; and that of Economics and History, under Professor John Bates Clark to 1923, and then under Professor James T. Shotwell.

The Endowment is a self-operating corporation, and its chief business is to carry on the work it has itself established throughout the world. It is not, as is sometimes supposed, a money-granting corporation, and this fact has frequently to be explained to those who make application for funds for purposes of all kinds, many of them commendable in themselves, but for which the Endowment has no funds available. It makes no permanent grants to outside organizations, limiting cooperation of this kind to projects which are passed upon by the Executive Committee of the Endowment, and which may be regarded as part of the Endowment's own work.

The greater part of the Endowment's activities falls within Dr. Butler's division, which maintains a European center in Paris, with Dr. Earle B. Babcock as associate director, and has also correspondents in various countries, including Japan. It is not too much to say that the activities of the Division of Intercourse and Education constitute the largest single effort of an unofficial body anywhere in the world to further the cause of international understanding. In any case they furnish the conspicuous example of that welding of technical and non-technical functioning which has been referred to in the Introduction to this survey as the basis of sound method in dealing with the data of international relations. The division reaches widely into both the academic and the non-academic fields and, under the direction of Dr. Butler, coordinates its work in such a way that the popular interpretation of current problems has become almost as important as the publication of special expert studies on the subjects under discussion. The practical purposes of the Endowment do not distort its scientific aims because those aims are enlightenment rather than propaganda. It proceeds upon the principle that sane progress in international thinking rests upon objective and non-partisan studies. Thus, while its officers may at times express strong opinions upon current issues, the Endowment as such takes no part in politics. Its work only resembles propaganda in the sense that education has always a practical aim, namely, to combat ignorance, partisanship, and prejudice.

These purposes of the Endowment are abundantly manifest in its academic activities. First among these should be noted the wide-spread support of exchange professors, and visiting professorships and lectureships. The influence of these is hard to measure; long experience, however, has shown that it is frequently greater upon the lecturer than upon his audiences. He learns from them the drift and current of public opinion, and they from him the explanation of problems outside the range of their experience. It follows that the choice of the Endowment's beneficiaries is made with this fact somewhat in mind. They are those who give evidence, by past performance or present position, of being capable of passing on to others the results of their experiences abroad.

The number of these exchange or visiting lectureships varies slightly from time to time, generally between six and ten. In most cases the arrangements are by formal agreement with university authorities or with other representative bodies. In addition to these contributions to education, the Endowment also makes its contribution to research by sending from country to country individuals or groups of specialists to analyze the important problems of other nations or institutions like the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Bank of International Settlements. It also from time to time cooperates with other bodies in activities of this kind.

The academic activities of the Division of Intercourse and Education are not limited, however, to its interest in teachers. The student body is also its beneficiary in other lines. International Relations Clubs have been organized in colleges throughout the United States and to some extent, as well, in other countries, not only in Europe but in the Orient. The discussion in these student bodies is entirely free of Endowment control, which merely offers them practical assistance in securing the opportunities and the materials for the study of international relations. In this connection it distributes books and documents and sets up what are called "International Alcove Libraries" consisting of well-chosen works of reference which are frequently difficult to secure in small colleges.⁵

The Division of Intercourse and Education, in addition to distributions of literature, both general and technical, also publishes from time to time contributions dealing for the most part with problems of the day. A series of pamphlets known as the "International Conciliation" series is perhaps the most widely used body of reference material in

⁵ Cf. pp. 399 f.

courses of instruction on international relations.⁶ It contains practically all the important documents in contemporary international politics and discussions by writers who can speak with authority.

Most of the academic activities of the Endowment exercise influence in non-academic fields by way of either the spoken or the written word, and there are also distinctly non-academic activities, to which passing reference is made again and again throughout the survey.⁷ It is impossible to list here all of these varied activities; but no survey of the elements making for clear thinking in international affairs would be complete without reference to the individual services rendered by the President of the Endowment, Dr. Butler, in his addresses, publications, and personal influence upon the formation of public opinion at home and abroad.

The Division of International Law, under Dr. Scott's directorship, is also the outstanding body of its kind and, both in its own scientific output and in the support which it has given to other bodies, has played an important rôle in the furtherance of its subject in the United States, in Latin America, and in Europe. Scholarship has profited from its publication of the classics of international law and its unique collections of texts and commentaries. The project for a documentary history of American participation in the Paris Peace Conference has involved the collaboration of the Division of History and Economics with that of International Law. This work, under the general editorship of Dr. Scott, is planned to supply the documents used in negotiations, in so far as they are available, along with extensive commentaries and explanatory material. The first volume of this series, *The Origins of the International Labor Organization*, has just been published (1934) in two volumes.⁸

The Division of Economics and History was established "to promote a thorough and scientific investigation and study of the causes of war and of the practical methods to prevent and avoid it." Its original program of studies, prepared by leading economists of different countries, was interrupted by the World War, and from 1919 to the present time it has concentrated upon the study of the effects of the War upon the processes of civilization both in belligerent and neutral countries. The

⁶ The "International Conciliation" series was first published in 1907 by the American Association on International Conciliation; since 1924 the series has been issued by the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment.

⁷ See Index under Carnegie Endowment.

⁸ Columbia University Press.

result is embodied in the *Economic and Social History of the World War*, which, with the publication of approximately 150 volumes, including more than 200 monographs, is now practically complete.

In addition to this major task, which received generous financial assistance from the Carnegie Corporation, the Division of Economics and History has undertaken research upon a number of miscellaneous problems. In 1933, another extensive series of researches, likewise with the support of the Corporation, was undertaken, this time dealing with Canadian American Relations.⁹ Although most of the activities of the Endowment are carried out by the technical divisions individually, this recent one involves cooperation of all the divisions of the Endowment. The Division of History and Economics is responsible for the planning and the editing of the published material.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

One of the three areas of concentration included in the Foundation's own social science program of the Rockefeller Foundation is international relations. The others, not unrelated are: (1) economic structure and process, with special reference to planning and control; and (2) social organization and procedure, with special reference to problems of community organization and planning. Although most of the institutions engaged in these projects, which received subventions from the Foundation, are American, foreign institutions are not absent from any group. The third area of Foundation activity, explicitly within the Division of the Social Sciences, is directly focused upon research in international relations and is chiefly concerned with the support of organizations and programs studying social problems which have international implications.

The Foundation has a specific interest in improving international relations through extending the area of objective analysis of controversial subjects. Quite recently the increased use of the specialist and technical advisor in international affairs has led the Foundation to believe that important work can be accomplished through assisting certain non-governmental agencies. The organizations and projects granted financial support in 1932 and 1933 included both American and foreign bodies which carry on research bearing on international relations; they are:

Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, Hawaii. Research program.

Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council.

Foreign Policy Association. Research Department.

⁹ Cf. pp. 300-303.

Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, England. Research program.
Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, Berlin. Research and training in international relations.

Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, Berlin, Germany. Research in international relations.

Postgraduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, Switzerland. General budget.

League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland. Study of double taxation.

Geneva Research Center. General Budget.

American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York City.
Mineral inquiry.

Harvard University. Research in international law.

Harvard University and Radcliffe College. International research.

Social Science Research Council. Research in international relations.

Council on Foreign Relations, New York City. Research program.

The desire to promote understanding between nations and to reduce the friction which may lead to warfare has influenced the Division of the Social Sciences of the Rockefeller Foundation to develop various types of activity; nevertheless, at the same time it has endeavored to achieve a degree of unity in administering its program. In addition it correlates its work with that of other foundations having similar purposes, for example, it shares with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace the support of the Geneva Research Center. The Foundation also gives general assistance to advisory and planning agencies, notably to the Social Science Research Council; the Commission of Inquiry in National policy in International Economic Relations, for instance, which was nominated by the Council with the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, is being financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. Moreover, the Foundation looks to the Social Science Research Council to appoint American and Canadian fellows for study in foreign countries. At the present time the Council is supervising about forty-five active fellows, most of whom are on the post-graduate level.

The Rockefeller Foundation administers a program of fellowships in the social sciences under which it grants research fellowships, fellowships for training, and special fellowships for study in countries other than the country of residence. Scholars residing in the British Isles, continental Europe, Australia, and New Zealand are eligible. During the year 1933, 163 fellows were active under this program. In practice the entire program of the Rockefeller Foundation, which provides for both European and American scholars who wish to study in countries outside

their own, is conceived primarily as a means of recruiting personnel for research; nevertheless, it is also looked upon as a means of creating a group within the universities having world contacts and broad social experience.

The program of the Foundation, for similar reasons, emphasizes the importance of strengthening major centers of advanced training and research in the social sciences in America and in Europe, and of building secondary centers on a regional and national basis. As a result of grants made by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Rockefeller Foundation, there are now eight institutional centers in America, one in Canada, seven in Europe, and three in Asia, which carry on research and training programs of outstanding significance.¹⁰

In addition to the European fellowships and institutional programs, the Foundation contributes annually for direct distribution to European scientists and institutions under a grant-in-aid fund administered at the Paris office of the Foundation.

OTHER FOUNDATIONS

Although the several organizations which have been set up for the administration of Carnegie and Rockefeller endowment funds are the most important in the United States, nevertheless other foundations have been created which concern themselves more or less directly with the study of international relations questions. It is not always easy, however, to draw exactly the line of demarcation between the foundations which use their funds in whole, or in part, for the encouragement of the study of international relations, and those which do not. This is true because programs of the foundations vary from year to year, and because in some cases, money allocated to American organizations finds its way indirectly into the study of international subjects.

The work of most of the foundations which concern themselves with international questions is discussed in various connections throughout

¹⁰ The American institutions are: The Brookings Institution, Columbia University, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, the University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, the University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, the University of Texas, at Austin, and Stanford University in California. McGill University in Montreal, Canada, is included, as well as the following in Europe: the London School of Economics and Political Science, the Institute of Social and Political Sciences at Heidelberg University, the Institute of Economics and History of Copenhagen, the Rumanian Institute of Social Science in Bucharest, the International Institute of Public Law in Paris, the Institute of Economics at the University of Oslo, and the University of Stockholm, the American University of Beirut in Syria, the Institute of Economics at Nankai University, in Tientsin, China, and the Yenching University, in Peiping.

this survey, whenever their work impinges on the field which is being considered. For convenience, however, the names of the more important foundations which are interested in international relations and which are not directly affiliated with any university or college, are given below. A brief description of each, supplementing the discussion elsewhere,¹¹ is included for convenience of reference.

The Commonwealth Fund, which was established by the late Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness, is interested in education as well as in child welfare and health. Until 1929 it was especially active in health work in Austria where it has spent approximately a million dollars. The Division of Education awards and administers twenty fellowships which are offered annually to the graduates of British and Colonial Universities for two years of study in American universities. A certain number of three-year fellowships are also available annually.

The John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation is organized particularly to provide Fellowships to assist research in any field of knowledge or creative work in any of the fine arts. It has two groups of Fellowships: one for citizens, or permanent residents, of the United States to assist work to be carried on in the United States or abroad, another to assist citizens of certain Latin-American countries to carry on research or creative work in the United States.

The Henry P. Davison Scholarship Fund defrays the expenses of English students from Oxford and Cambridge who study at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities.

The Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., founded by Mr. Edward A. Filene of Boston, is interested primarily in American affairs, but like so many of the other organizations concerned with this field has inevitably given attention to international affairs. For example, the Committee on Economic Sanctions of the Fund, under the chairmanship of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, sponsored a report, addressed to the American people in 1932, on the usefulness of joint and simultaneous embargoes on commercial relations with nations violating the Pact of Paris. The Committee advocated an amendment to the Pact through which the signatories would pledge themselves to consultation in case of a threatened violation of the Pact and to action along these lines. The Fund also has contributed in the past to the support of the International Management Institute of Geneva, an agency dedicated to the promotion of scientific methods in the economic affairs of other nations.

¹¹ See the Index for other references to these Foundations.

The World Peace Foundation, established in 1910 by Edwin Ginn, focuses its activities upon the task of making the facts concerning international relations available. Since 1920 it has been the American agency for the distribution of League of Nations documents; its library has also been the depository of such other official international documents as are publicly distributed. Its present status and the projects of the foundation in cooperation with the League of Nations Association and the Foreign Policy Association are described at length in Chapter III of this survey.

The Woodrow Wilson Foundation was incorporated in 1922 in recognition of the national and international services of Woodrow Wilson. From time to time, the Foundation has granted awards to the following individuals and organizations: to Viscount Cecil of Chelwood, in 1924; to the Honorable Elihu Root, in 1926; to Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh, in 1928; and in 1929, to the League of Nations, Geneva, "in recognition of its ten years' service in the cause of world peace—the money to be applied by the League of Nations for a suitable memorial to Woodrow Wilson in the new building to be erected by the League of Nations in Geneva." In 1933, six awards were made, as follows: Princeton School of Public and International Affairs; The League of Nations Association, Inc.; Foreign Policy Association; American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia; Library of International Relations, Chicago; Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students; in 1934, awards were granted to the Council on Foreign Relations; the Institute of International Education, Inc.; and to the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

The Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, formerly the League of Nations Association Library, was reorganized in 1929 and is now maintained as a part of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. The Library, which is open to the public for reference use during office hours, contains approximately 2,000 League of Nations volumes, including: Communiqué material and press reviews from the Information Section; all documents from the International Labor Office and from the Permanent Court of International Justice; a collection of books on international affairs; periodicals and a pamphlet file on parallel subjects; and a newspaper-clipping file on current international topics.

The American Foundation, through its Committee on Foreign Relations, is interested in informing public opinion upon international affairs generally, and upon the bases of the foreign policy of the United States. It is specifically interested in furthering the completion of the

adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Committee on Russian-American Relations, operating under the American Foundation, made a comprehensive report in October, 1933, entitled, *The Controlling Factors in the Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union*.

The Russell Sage Foundation, while limited by its charter to work in the United States, has published, among many other things, a study of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada. The Foundation has also associated with international affairs through the personal activities of its Director of Industrial Studies, Mary Van Kleeck, who is the vice-president of the International Industrial Relations Association and was chairman of the Program Committee of the World Social Economic Congress of 1931. Miss Van Kleeck is also actively interested in a number of other organizations having international programs.

The Milbank Memorial Fund, while for the most part confining its activities to American problems, chiefly of public health, also supports projects in that field in Yugoslavia; it has financed the public health work of the Chinese Mass Education Movement since 1929; it has also sponsored extensive researches in public health and the public and private practices of medicine in western Europe and Russia, and it has cooperated with the Health Section of the League in some of its health projects.

The Rawleigh Foundation, Freeport, Illinois, is a non-profit corporation founded by Mr. W. T. Rawleigh to undertake research in economic problems, particularly in the fields of tariffs, public finance, trusts, and public utilities. It publishes the results of its research in the *Rawleigh Foundation Bulletin*, which is sent free upon application.

The Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation (which is not to be confused with the Carl Schurz Association in Berlin) promotes closer intellectual relations between the United States and Germany, and it arranges for the exchange of students, teachers, artists, lecturers, and men of affairs.

The Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation is active in the extension of education in Belgium and the development of closer intellectual relations between Belgium and the United States, chiefly by the granting of fellowships.

The Kosciuszko Foundation assists Polish students studying in the higher institutions of learning in the United States and American students desiring to study in Poland; it also arranges exchanges of professors and scholars.

The American-Scandinavian, Netherlands-American, and American-

Hungarian Foundations, and certain other bi-national bodies are organized primarily to develop cultural contacts and mutual understanding between the two countries. They work through exchange of students or professors, through publications and in other similar ways.

The Rosenwald Fund is interested in education of colored peoples, especially health education. The latest report of one of its educational studies in the region of the Pacific is *Island India Goes to School*, by Edwin R. Embree, Margaret Sargent Simon, and Bryant Mumford.¹² Arrangements for the survey were made by the Institute of Pacific Relations on the recommendation of its International Research Committee; it was financed and administered by the Rosenwald Fund.

The Harmon Foundation in promoting its experimental projects is concerned with annuity service for nurses in the United States and Canada; promotion of interest in creative work of Negroes; development of motion pictures for church and educational purposes; experimental work in student aid. While its field is primarily the United States, interchange of experience and thought with people in other countries is an essential part of the Foundation's procedure.

Many of these and other foundations have found their work very seriously hampered in these later years because of the reductions in their incomes. In some cases this has resulted in the amalgamation of two or more organizations. The Oberlaender Trust, for example, is now affiliated with the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, the aims of the two bodies being substantially the same.

These are only a few of the numerous foundations in the United States which are directly concerned with questions involved in international relations. In many cases there are no printed records concerning the benefactions of foundations. This brief enumeration of a few facts from published reports, however, reveals three significant facts: (1) there is an increasing tendency for men of wealth to give part, at least, of their fortunes to special trustee bodies which are set up either to administer the income from the endowments or to spend the principal for social betterment; (2) organizations or bodies of trustees for diverse purposes—sometimes concerned with international relations, more often not—are being created to administer endowments within universities, yet always acting independently of the university trustees, and sometimes endeavoring to become self-supporting units; and (3) the increasing intimacy of contacts between American and world life is having its inevitable consequence of drawing into the direct or in-

¹² University of Chicago Press, 1934.

direct study of these contacts an increasing proportion of the money available through these foundations.¹³

COORDINATING COUNCILS

In recent years the growth of organizations in all the varied fields of science and learning has led to the creation of central national bodies representing to some extent the common interests of the various sciences in the furtherance of science as a whole and offering, by Federal representative organizations, the means for inter-disciplinary contact. First to take shape in this manner in the United States was the National Research Council in the natural sciences, to which only passing reference is made in the text which follows, in view of the fact that its main interest lies outside the scope of this survey. The next to take shape was the American Council of Learned Societies, created in 1920 to furnish a central body for the organizations devoted to the study of the humanities. It was partly following these models and partly from the inherent needs of the political and social sciences that the Social Science Research Council came into existence. The effort of the League of Nations to further intellectual cooperation resulted in the formation of a body less definite in program, but wider in scope, the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation, the body which represents in the United States the Organization of International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. While hitherto this organization has limited itself to more or less incidental interests in education and arts and letters, it has, through its executive organ, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, created the Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, renamed in 1933 the International Studies Conference, which promises to become the chief international organ in Europe for achieving purposes similar to those of the Institute of Pacific Relations. As indicated below, this last function has not yet been fully developed, but the problems of organization are well on the way toward fuller solution.

¹³ A small but exceedingly illuminating volume dealing with the structure and functioning of foundations in the United States is *The Foundation: Its Place in American Life* by Dr. Frederick P. Keppel (Macmillan Co., 1930) who is President of the Carnegie Corporation. Dr. Keppel's 1933 *Report*, as President of the Carnegie Corporation, explains many of the newer tendencies in endowments for research. A detailed study of the use made of the funds from the principal Foundations is *American Foundations and Their Fields* (Twentieth Century Fund, 1932) edited by Dr. Evans Clark, the Director of the Fund.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

"The Social Science Research Council exists for the one comprehensive purpose of advancing the study of man in his relation to man."¹⁴ In practice the Council has become a central organization for the coordination of planning in research in the Social Sciences in the United States.

It was founded in May, 1923, by the Political Science Association and the American Economic Association, but not until March, 1925, did it attain its present organization, which includes the American Statistical Association, the American Psychological Association, the American Anthropological Association, and the American Historical Association.¹⁵

The development of the program of the Council was parallel to the development of its organization. On the whole, however, it was much influenced by the proposal for cooperation in the studies of human migration undertaken by the National Research Council under a grant by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. A distinct series of studies from the social standpoint, separately financed by the Memorial and organized under the new Council, was evolved to parallel the studies of the physical aspects of migration and of migrants which had been planned by a committee of the National Research Council. The situation to which the Council was introduced by this episode in the field of migration had a marked influence on the development of the Council. It undoubtedly precipitated the interest in actual research which it has since maintained; it also resulted in establishing definite contact with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, which at the time was initiating a program in support of the social sciences. This contact became an important factor in bringing financial support to the Council, which in consequence enlarged its usefulness.

A treasurer was elected at the May meeting in 1924; the Council was incorporated December 25 of the same year. In 1924, also, committees were set up to handle the international news and migration projects, and to outline a plan for post-doctoral fellowships. Research

¹⁴ This is the opening sentence of the *Social Science Research Council Decennial Report, 1923-1933*, published by the Council in 1934. Other quotations in this section concerning the Council are also from this *Decennial Report*.

¹⁵ It should be noted, however, as is also stated in the description of the American Council of Learned Societies, that bodies like the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society, cooperate with both the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies.

fellowships in the social sciences were awarded by the Council for the year 1925-26, and have since been maintained without interruption.

"In 1927 grants were received to a total of \$1,958,000, to be available over a period of years. Large grants for the work of the Council have continued to be made. As of June 30, 1933, the amount of all grants made from the beginning of the Council was \$4,197,605.91. Of this amount \$1,401,038.52 is available for use after July 1, 1933. For this generous support the Council owes a deep debt to the Carnegie Corporation, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Commonwealth Fund, the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, the General Education Board, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rosenwald Fund, the late Julius Rosenwald, the Rosenwald Family Association, and the Russell Sage Foundation."

Since August 31, 1925, the Council has held an annual summer meeting which varies in length from a week to a month. In some years only the members of the Council and of the Committee on Problems and Policy attend; in other years all the members of the Council, as well as invited guests. "These annual conferences are viewed by the Council as vital to its work. They have not only provided opportunity for more prolonged and matured consideration of problems than is possible in relatively brief meetings during the academic year. They have been the chief vehicle of one of the Council's achievements: the bringing together of men from different sciences, the breaking down of excessive compartmentalization."

The Council's own discussion of its objectives reveals that its primary purpose is that of a research body in relation to planning research. Its objectives have included improvement of research organization, personnel, and methods; the preservation of research materials and better dissemination of results of research investigations; extension of the bounds of knowledge by carrying out specific projects; and enhancement of public appreciation of the significance of the social sciences. From time to time it has examined its results and redefined its policy. Through its fellowship program the Council has assisted in the development of research personnel; and through grants-in-aid, and approval of projects which have in consequence been financed by outside foundations, it has assisted a great number of specific projects. In general, it has endeavored more and more to study general areas of investigation and be in a position to determine the most desirable work to be done in particular fields. An objective in its planning is

to be in "a position to formulate a coherent program of research which, centralized in its attack, should produce more continuous and integrated knowledge."

All projects of research are presented to the Council through its Committee on Problems and Policy. During the decade of the Council's existence more than a score of special committees in particular fields, have studied and recommended definite projects and policies to this central committee. Only a few of these committees, however, have touched international relations directly. There was the Committee on International News and Communications (1924-27) which was replaced by a Committee on International Relations (1926-). This latter committee had two subcommittees, one on Export of Capital, the other on International Business Organization. Then there was an Advisory Committee on Interracial Relations (1925-30) with a Subcommittee on Governmental and Political Aspects of Interracial Relations (1928-30); there was also an Advisory Committee on Population, one division of which was a Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration (1924-27). The Advisory Committee on Pioneer Belts (1926-28) was discontinued with the understanding that an advisory committee of the American Geographical Society would supervise the project.¹⁶

The Committee on International Relations is naturally the one most closely related to the interests of this survey. Its personnel, past and present, has included specialists in international law and in finance, men of practical affairs, publicists, and scholars. Professor James T. Shotwell was its first chairman. The Committee very early expanded in scope in order to deal with the projects of research presented to it by the Institute of Pacific Relations. By reason of these requests, the earliest program of the Social Science Research Council in this field had to do with relations with the Orient. Subsequently, under the chairmanship of Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, it widened its scope to include the whole field and prepared a number of surveys of the impact of international problems upon the various social sciences. Some four years ago the Council, in accordance with its program of concentration upon certain definite areas of research, decided to give special prominence to the field of international relations and appointed Professor James T. Shotwell Director of Planning in Research in International Relations with a liberal budgetary allowance and a free hand to develop the field in any direction which promised best results.

¹⁶ The publications resulting are described on pp. 89 f. and 295-296.

This period of concentrated planning in international relations came to a close on June 30, 1933, when the organization again reverted to the previous form of direction by committee action.

The main principle upon which the major plans were formed, has rapidly tended to gain acceptance; it was, that international problems will be understood in proportion to a knowledge of the national elements in them. Only those who can interpret national attitudes and policies with precision and authority can fully understand the realities of international situations. Viewed in this light, the study of international relations should furnish a better understanding of national history and national needs and is, therefore, an integral part of the social sciences in their normal development. While there are many international problems which seem to start where these national studies end, nevertheless, more careful study shows that they cannot be fully understood without carrying the research more deeply into their local setting; just as a bridge can never be sound if the piers or abutments are not truly laid.

The most recent definition of policy, that taken in 1933, was to deal with important public and social problems. "The Council determined not to avoid current issues by reason of their generally controversial character, but rather to give weight to the promise of particular research to contribute to an understanding of contemporary questions. This decision involved no intention of abandoning more remote and fundamental research in favor of that applied wholly to immediate ends. It simply recognized that of research, as of so much human activity, a measure of value is benefit to mankind."

The following illustrations of this policy of attacking current problems are also excellent examples of the methods of cooperation practiced by the Social Science Research Council and the Foundations. The first, a project suggested by Dr. Charles A. Beard, when approved by the Council, was financed by the Carnegie Corporation. Dr. Beard was invited to be responsible for the investigation, the first part of which was published in 1934 by The Macmillan Company. It is entitled *The Idea of National Interest: an Analytical Study of American Foreign Policy*. In a second part of the study, as yet unpublished, Dr. Beard explains (in his preface to the present volume), "an effort will be made to construct a consistent and tenable philosophy of national interest."

The most recent, and perhaps the most notable, instance of the way in which this cooperation between the Social Science Research Council and the Foundations has worked out in the field of international relations is the establishment of the Commission of Inquiry on

National Policy in International Economic Relations. This Commission, financed through a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation, was appointed by the Social Science Research Council with the approval of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Its mandate is to obtain direct information upon the trends of opinion prevailing in different parts of the country concerning the international economic policies of the United States. The subjects which it is investigating include the tariff, foreign trade, foreign investments, and international monetary policy. The Commission began to hold hearings in March, 1934, and will prepare a report in the course of the year. The chairman is President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and the secretary, Professor Alvin H. Hansen.

AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

The American Council of Learned Societies is a national organization representing eighteen of the societies and associations of scholars which are primarily concerned with humanistic studies. Both in its origin, however, and in many of its activities, it has wide international associations. It was created in 1920 primarily to serve as the American member of the International Union of Academies, founded in Paris in 1919, with its seat at Brussels.¹⁷ Membership in the International Union called for representation in the Annual Assembly of that body and the participation of American scholars in its program of research and publication. Throughout the history of the American Council of Learned Societies,

¹⁷ The Union académique internationale, or U.A.I., was organized in Paris in 1919 upon the initiative of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. It may be regarded as the successor of the pre-war International Association of Academies, organized at Wiesbaden in 1899, just as the International Research Council is its successor in the field of the physical and natural sciences. The academies of Germany and Austria were excluded from the International Research Council—which, it should be remembered, originated as a war organization by statute until 1931. In the case of the International Union of Academies a more liberal spirit prevented the adoption of any clause of restriction or exclusion, but did not go so far as to make the necessary advances to secure the participation of the scholars of the Central Powers.

"The International Union of Academies is a federation of the national academies or learned bodies devoted to philosophy, philology, archaeology, history, economics, and the political and social sciences. Each country is entitled to two voting representatives . . . who are chosen by the academies or group of learned bodies in that country which have been affiliated to the Union. . . .

"The Annual Meeting of the Union is held in Brussels [or such other cities as may be designated by action of the Union] during the first half of May. It is in that city that the official headquarters of the Union are located, in the Palais des Académies, and the Union has a legal status, or *personnalité civile*, under Belgian law. . . . Most of the projects have been in fields of philology

the international relations thus established have remained a fundamental part of the organization's activities. In addition, however, the Council has developed a widely varied program of its own, corresponding to the major interests of its constituent bodies. These activities as listed in its *Bulletin* fall roughly into the following categories:

(1) Activities of development and planning, conducted by the Advisory Board, the Committee on Mediterranean Antiquities, the Committees on Chinese, Japanese, Byzantine, Indic and Iranian, and Latin American Studies, and the Committee on Musicology.

(2) Conduct of relations with foreign scholars and organizations through the International Union of Academies, and by participation in international projects of research such as the *Corpus of Ancient Vases*, the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin*, the edition of the medieval translations of Aristotle, and the collection of material illustrative of Indonesian Customary Law.

(3) Projects planned, administered, and financed by the Council such as: the *Dictionary of American Biography*, which has also been aided by a subvention from the *New York Times* and its president, Mr. Adolph S. Ochs; ¹⁸ *Studies in pre-Aristotelian Thought*, by William A. Heidel; *Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to 800 A.D.*, by E. A. Lowe; *Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada*; *Study of New England Speech*; and *Research in Native American Languages*.

(4) Projects chiefly of the constituent Societies, but also of universities and of small groups of scholars, assisted by the Council.

(5) Administration of grants-in-aid of research ranging from \$300 to \$1,000 awarded to individual scholars for assistance in meeting the expenses of their undertakings.

or archæology rather than of history, and it is true that as yet there has been little undertaken that is of direct interest to the student of modern history, to the economist, or to the political or social scientist, but this neglect is due more to the fact that students in these fields have failed to come forward with proposals than to lack of interest on the part of the members of the Union." (Quotations are from the report in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, November 1926, pp. 65-72. It was written by Dr. Waldo G. Leland, then of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.)

¹⁸ "Prompted solely by a desire for public service the New York Times Company and its president, Mr. Adolph S. Ochs, have made possible the preparation of the manuscript of the *Dictionary of American Biography* through a subvention of more than \$500,000 and with the understanding that the entire responsibility for the contents of the volume rests with the American Council of Learned Societies." *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. I, p. iv. The dictionary is being published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Thirteen of its twenty volumes appeared between 1928 and 1934.

(6) Administration of post-doctoral fellowships for further training in research in the humanities.

Originally founded through the joint initiative of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Historical Association, the Council of Learned Societies now includes the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Economic Association, the American Historical Association, the American Oriental Society, the American Philological Association, the American Philosophical Society, the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, the Bibliographical Society of America, the History of Science Society, the Linguistic Society of America, the Mediaeval Academy of America, the Modern Language Association of America, the American Anthropological Association, the American Philosophical Association, the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

While most of the activities of the Council lie outside the scope of this survey and so will not be discussed in detail, some idea of their extent and direct or indirect bearing on international relations can be found from the list of its working committees, as set forth in the Proceedings Number of the Council's *Bulletin* (No. 20) for December, 1933. The Directory Number of the *Bulletin* (No. 17) for May, 1932, contains a concise statement of the history and activities not only of the Council itself but of all the associations federated in it.

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

With its Division of Foreign Relations, the National Research Council is the principal cooperative organization through which Americans concerned with the natural sciences interrelate their work with that of international agencies in the same field. While this Council is interested primarily in the natural sciences, and so in one sense does not come within the scope of this survey, its many and varied contacts with international organizations make it an important factor in the development of American international cooperation. Furthermore, its members include not only scientific and technical men but also professional men interested in engineering and industry, and among the organizations which are represented in its Division of Foreign Relations are a number of bodies the interests of which extend much beyond the field of the natural sciences, strictly speaking.

The National Research Council had its origin in an offer made by the National Academy of Sciences to President Wilson in the spring of 1916

to place the services of the Academy at the disposal of the Government in the interests of national security and welfare in the emergency which the World War had created.¹⁹ In May, 1918, President Wilson in an executive order requested the National Academy of Sciences to perpetuate the National Research Council for the general purposes of stimulating research in the physical and biological sciences. The order also specifies that the Council is to concern itself with research "at home and abroad," and with the promotion of cooperation between American and foreign investigators. The specifically international contacts of the Council were established as a result of the cooperation of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States in the formation, in 1918 and 1919, of the International Research Council.

The National Research Council is the agency through which relations are maintained between scientific groups in the United States and several international scientific bodies affiliated with the International Council of Scientific Unions. In technical matters, the American sections of these Unions deal directly with agencies abroad, but in matters of policy and of organic relationships they act through the Division of Foreign Relations of the National Research Council. This Division of the Council also provides a means for considering the more general aspects of the international scientific relationships with which the Council may be concerned. It includes among its members representatives of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Philosophical Society, the Department of State, the War Department and the Navy Department at Washington, and representatives of the national committees of seven international scientific Unions, in addition to a number of members at large, officers of certain international commissions.

The developing interest of scientific men in scientific problems of common interest throughout the area of the Pacific Ocean, as constituting a definite unit of the earth's surface, led to the establishment in 1921, by the Council, of a special Committee on Pacific Investigations. The principal activities of this Committee have been the preparation for participation by scientific agencies of the United States in a series of Pacific Science Congresses which have been held at three-year intervals—in 1920 at Honolulu; in 1923 at Sydney and Melbourne; in 1926 at Tokyo; in 1929 at Batavia and Buitenzorg; and in 1933 at Victoria and

¹⁹ In this connection it is interesting to note that the National Academy of Sciences itself was the outcome of a war-time need, it having been granted a charter by Congress in 1863 during the American Civil War.

Vancouver. These Congresses "have been found to be important occasions for the summarization of the progress of research on scientific problems pertaining to the Pacific region. The programs are carefully prepared in advance and consist of invited papers grouped into symposia upon the major problems under consideration." Resolutions are adopted which direct attention to particular problems. As a result of these Congresses, the Pacific Science Association was organized in 1926, and the National Research Council became one of the fourteen member bodies of this Association.

It is of more than passing interest to note the parallel between the development of the Pacific Science Association and that of the Institute of Pacific Relations—which is discussed elsewhere²⁰—as evidence of the fact that the natural scientists, as well as the social scientists, in the countries bordering on the Pacific came almost simultaneously, but quite independently of each other, to recognize a community of interests in problems developing in the Pacific area. The workers in both fields have moved along much the same lines in the creation of organizations through which they could cooperate in the study of common problems.

The National Research Council is not itself primarily a research organization. Its purpose is rather to promote research and particularly to help to bring workers together, and "to assist in coordinating, in some measure, scientific attack in America upon large problems in any and all lines of scientific activity, especially, perhaps, those problems which depend for successful solution on the cooperation of several or many workers and laboratories either within the realm of a single science or representing different realms in which various parts of a single problem may lie."²¹

²⁰ Cf. pp. 233 f.

²¹ One of the publications of the National Research Council, the *Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (Washington, 1930), covers this field thoroughly.

CHAPTER II

CENTERS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

WASHINGTON AS A RESEARCH CENTER

ONLY a few years ago, the national capital presented very few opportunities for scientific research in the art and science of government, as well as in the social and physical sciences more generally, compared with the situation in capitals of European countries. During the World War this situation began to change rapidly, partly because of the need for meeting war-time administrative and other emergencies and partly by reason of the presence in Washington of many of the leading scholars and scientists of the country. Since the end of the War, this tendency toward the development in Washington of agencies and facilities for research has continued until today probably more work of this kind is done in this city than in any other center in the United States, and the facilities for such work are excellent.

Washington's leadership as a research center for the study of international relations and foreign affairs, in their many and varied aspects, becomes even more strikingly apparent if the research work of the various governmental agencies be counted—the work of the several administrative departments of the Government, of the War College and of the Navy College, of the committees of Congress, of the numerous independent establishments, and of the organizations and individuals concerned in the preparation of material relating to cases before the Supreme Court, and to hearings before Congressional committees. It is impossible in this survey to cover in detail the research activities of the various governmental agencies and of organizations directly associated with the Government as well as of those private institutions which profit from their proximity to the Government offices or have their headquarters in Washington because of their direct interest in governmental action.¹ It should be borne in mind, however, that just as the action of

¹ The best general guide to the study of the activities of the American Government during the War and to the sources for the history of American participation in the War is the *Introduction to the American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the World War*, compiled by Waldo G.

government is the largest single element in international relations, the records of this action constitute the largest and most important part of the documentary material for research. The advantage of working at the National Capital has been increased in recent years, owing to the fact that several of the agencies of the Government which deal with international relations in one form or another have developed what may be called genuine research activities along with the purely routine work of administration.

GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

The two departments which have had most to do with international relations are the Department of State and the Department of Commerce. Of these the Department of State is by far the most important, not only because it is charged with the conduct of negotiations with other countries, but also because of the wide scope which those relations have assumed in recent years. Thus, it has its own economic section as well as its territorial and legal divisions. Students of foreign policy, if properly accredited, are given as generous facilities for work on the history of American diplomacy as the physical conditions of the department permit, although access to certain classes of material is necessarily limited.

The State Department, since October 1, 1929, has been carrying on a comprehensive program of publications for the avowed purpose of assisting teachers of international law, lawyers with an international practice, and researchers and publicists whose work is related to the foreign affairs of the United States. Nonconfidential State papers, including diplomatic correspondence, or papers not considered as contemporary (that is, not having to do with negotiations still in progress) are released from time to time. They are classified as follows: "Western European Series," "Eastern European Series," "Latin American Series," "Executive Agreement Series," "Map Series," "Passport Series," "Treaty Series," "Arbitration Series," and "Conference Series."

Even before the initiation of this very recent policy of frequent publication of State Department documents in classified series, many documents of similar character were available for those interested. During the two-year interval of the 70th Congress (1927-29), for example, reports of the following international conferences were published: In-

Leland and Newton D. Mereness, published as one of the volumes in the "Economic and Social History of the World War." (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1926.)

ternational Aeronautics Conference; International Conference; International Conference for Revision of Convention of 1914 for Safety of Life at Sea; International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration; International Congress of Entomology; International Congress on Sanitary Aviation; International Dairy Congress; International Emigration and Immigration Conference; International Juridical Congress on Wireless Telegraphy; International Radio Conference; and International Radiotelegraph Conference. The list of countries with which the United States published its treaties of conciliation during the 70th Congress included Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Lithuania, and Poland.

Moreover, the annual publication of "Foreign Relations of the United States" has been carried on for some time but not until Secretary of State Kellogg's department order of March 26, 1925, authorizing the publication of the "World War Supplements" to "Foreign Relations" did these papers approach a complete record of correspondence and relevant official papers. The *Papers Relating to Foreign Relations of the United States, World War Supplement for 1914* and for each succeeding year through 1918, and the Supplements on Russia for 1917 and 1918, which were published between 1928 and 1933, may be said to be the beginning of the commendable program which was finally worked out in the establishment, by Department order No. 560 on November 1, 1933, of a Division of Research and Publication under the Office of Historical Advisor and Editor of Treaties.

The present historical advisor, Mr. Hunter Miller, submits recommendations to the Secretary of State on historical and constitutional questions and matters of policy relating to current questions before the Department. He is custodian of the archives of the Department up to August 15, 1906, which are made available to accredited scholars and students. His major achievement, a recent publication of which the department is justly proud, is entitled *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*. This collection, which will consist of nine volumes when finished, comprises complete and literal copies of the texts of all treaties and international acts of the United States, which are, or have at any time been, in force. The treaty texts, chronologically arranged, are in all the languages in which they were written. The text of each treaty is followed by notes containing information regarding the treaty: its negotiation and other historical or legal data useful to lawyers or scholars who may have reason to inter-

pret its meaning. Volume III, which covers the period from 1819 to 1835, inclusive, was only recently published; Volume IV will be published in the autumn of 1934.

Fuller descriptions of the recent "Publications, Available Documents, and Archives of the Department" by Dr. Cyril Wynne, the Chief of the new Division of Publications, may be found in Department of State *Press Releases*, for March 24, 1934; and the new serial publications are listed in a quarterly pamphlet entitled *Publications of the Department of State: a List Cumulative from October 1, 1929*.²

The Tariff Commission, as well as the State Department, makes careful surveys of economic aspects of American foreign relations; it publishes studies such as *Depreciated Exchanges*, and *Economic Analysis of Foreign Trade of the United States*. The latter, in Part Two, discusses factors favoring exportation, and American branch factories abroad; the precise subjects of special publications and releases vary, but their titles are available in the monthly *Catalogue of Public Documents* or in the *Weekly List of Selected United States Government Publications*.

The Balance of International Payments of the United States, however, is published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, along with the *Survey of Current Business in the United States*. The better-known and long-established publications of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce are: the *Yearbook* which contains compilations of world economic statistics; the annual summary, entitled *Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the United States*, which describes the imports and exports of the nation by commodities, in quantity and value, and according to countries of destination and origin; and the *Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States*, which, when bound in annual volumes, is frequently confused with *Foreign Commerce and Navigation*.

Perhaps more useful to ordinary business, is the weekly, *Commerce Reports*, containing current foreign trade news, which is a compilation of information gathered from the agents of the Department of Commerce throughout the world. It describes the business situation abroad, country by country; it charts production indexes of foreign countries, as well as of the United States, in one number; finished manufactures in another; exports of foodstuffs in a third; and wholesale commodity prices of ten important countries in a fourth. It discusses Trade Trends,

² These are available for five cents a copy from the Government Printing Office.

and Financial Developments in various countries, describes Laws Affecting Foreign Commerce, and pays especial attention to Foreign Tariffs and Trade Regulations. The *Commerce Reports* are sold by the Government Printing Office for five cents a copy, or at a subscription rate of \$1.50 a year. From the Division of Commercial Laws there are frequent releases (costing a dollar a year) entitled *General Legal Bulletin*, which is a summary of foreign laws affecting American business.

In addition to such general services, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce has a number of divisions which furnish information, the result of expert research, concerning American business as it is influenced by international conditions. The Division of Foreign Tariffs, "the only organization in the United States equipped to furnish information and advice on the tariffs, trade controls, and commerce policy of all foreign countries,"³ works closely with the State Department in connection with the anticipated negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements, and with the Department of Agriculture in its study of foreign restrictions on international trade in farm products. Among the recent special studies of this Division was *Preparing Shipments to Canada* which, like *Foreign Tariffs and Commercial Policies during 1932*, was in such demand as to necessitate a reprint. The Division of Economic Research has an expert staff whose service supplied much of the data to the American delegation at the 1933 World Economic Conference in London. The Bureau also supplied to that Conference a summary of the maritime policies of all the major countries of the world. The Transportation Division publishes a manual on all foreign railroads, for the purpose of assisting in the extension of sales of specialized railway equipment abroad.

The record of the Commercial Intelligence Division for 1932-33, is that it supplied 29,000 detailed reports on individual foreign business organizations, and added 88,000 new and revised reports to its file, which, in June, 1933, contained a list of approximately 600,000 business organizations abroad. The Division also satisfied requests for 82,000 lists of foreign buyers. Among other activities it made available to credit associations throughout the country, much useful research material, and it coordinated its activities with credit groups in order to analyze trends. It cooperated with the Finance Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in estimating frozen credits

³ *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce*, June 30, 1933, p. 32.

abroad in respect to shipments of merchandise. Credit insurance was also studied.

There are a number of commodity divisions within the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, which, from time to time, publish special mimeographed bulletins of information called "Releases." The Minerals Division, for instance, publishes charts of world production, and of the imports and exports of the major minerals of industry. The Specialties Divisions watches increased competition in such commodities as typewriters, half of the domestic supply of which, to the present, has been shipped to foreign markets. There is also an Automotive Division, a Chemical Division, a Motion Picture Division, a Rubber Division, a Hide and Leather Division, and a Textile Division, all of which report the special trade conditions, both good and bad, and give warning or advice to those special businesses, which wish to use the government services. Furthermore, the Electrical Equipment Division has inaugurated a service which makes studies on world power development from an economic standpoint, as well as issuing circulars, taking one country at a time, covering the foreign radio markets.

The work of the Aeronautics Trade Division is perhaps the best example of the cooperation between departments of government, and between government and business. The Division's exchange of information is carried on in close cooperation with the following: (1) Commercial attachés and trade commissioners of the Department of Commerce in fifty-eight offices abroad; (2) Representatives of the Department of State resident in foreign countries; (3) Representatives of the United States Army, Navy, and National Advisory Commission on Aeronautics resident abroad; (4) Representatives and agencies abroad of United States aircraft and equipment manufacturers; (5) Manufacturers of aircraft and equipment; (6) Export houses handling aircraft equipment; (7) Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce; (8) the Aeronautics Branch of the Department of Commerce; and (9) the thirty-four district, and forty-six cooperative, officers of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in the United States. All this intricate interrelationship of agencies assisting one division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is described in *Functions of the Aeronautics Trade Division*, published by the Bureau in 1932. A confidential weekly publication is distributed only to firms whose names are on the Exporters Index; but *Foreign Aeronautical News*, published by the same Division, is generally distributed to any who are interested in aeronautics trade.

The Department of Labor has contributed, both directly and indirectly, to American understanding of international problems. Even before labor problems were considered of sufficient importance to warrant a cabinet office, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics made careful investigations into various phases of industrial life, both in the United States and abroad, and published the results of these studies, first in the form of special and annual reports, and later in a series of bulletins. An example of this kind of study was the two volume work, published in 1909, entitled *Workmen's Insurance and Compensation Systems in Europe* (Twenty-Fourth Annual Report). During the War and immediately after, a larger proportion of the bulletins of the Bureau were concerned with international questions, than at any other time prior to the present administration. In 1915 was begun the *Monthly Review* (changed in 1918 to the *Monthly Labor Review*), in which appear frequent special articles dealing with international relations and foreign industrial problems. For example, in August, 1933, thirteen articles dealt with some foreign aspect of labor problems, such as "Changes in Public Labor Policy in Germany," and "Workmen's Compensation in Great Britain during 1933." The Women's Bureau and the Children's Bureau also publish series of bulletins in which, from time to time, articles appear reporting on foreign conditions and foreign action in relation to the welfare of women and children. The work of the Immigration and Naturalization Service is, of course, directly in the field of international relations, but, since the service is mainly concerned with its technical and national aspects, its findings are for the most part outside the scope of this survey.

Besides its work in these special fields, the Department of Labor has had direct influence on the field of international relations by the participation of its members in various international congresses, and through the publication of the reports of these conferences, such as the International Association for Labor Legislation, the International Statistical Institute, the Advisory Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People, the International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions, and the International Conference of Migration Statistics.

In 1933 and 1934 the Secretary of Labor sent delegations of unofficial observers to the annual International Labor Conference at Geneva. The favorable report of the former played a part in preparing the way for passage of the Joint Resolution of the 73d Congress authorizing the President of the United States to accept membership in

the International Labor Organization.⁴ It is natural to assume that because of this move the Department of Labor may take an increasingly active part in the study of international economic relations.

In addition to the publications of Government departments the records of Congress—the *Senate Documents* and *Senate Reports*, and the *House Documents* and *House Reports*—are by their very nature more accessible than those of the administrative departments.⁵ Also the Hearings before Congressional committees often contain materials of first-class importance, but these have to be studied in Washington.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

These publications of the various departments and divisions of the Federal Government are available for study in more than one library in Washington, as well as in most of the larger libraries throughout the country. The Library of Congress, however, is by far the most important repository for both printed and manuscript documentary material. The Archives Building, which is approaching completion, will offer to the student of the history of American foreign policy the advantages of a single national repository similar to the archives of European countries. When this is completed, Washington will be even more than it is now the center of research to which foreign, as well as American, students will be obliged to go for first-hand material dealing with American history and politics.

The Library of Congress, under the direction of Dr. Herbert Putnam, who has been librarian since 1899, has built up not only the best collection of documentary material, but also a group of highly qualified experts as departmental chiefs who serve almost in the capacity of a research faculty for students in the national library. The Library was first established by Act of Congress in 1800 primarily for the use of Government officers, and this still is one of its important functions. The range of its activities has been steadily widened, however, until today it has

⁴ For text of resolution, cf. *Congressional Record, Senate*, June 13, 1934, p. 11681; also cf. p. 443 n. 6 of this survey.

⁵ Catalogues of public documents are published monthly in pamphlet form by the Superintendent of Public Documents; *An Index to the Monthly Catalogue of United States Public Documents* (July-June) is published annually and bound in a volume with the monthly pamphlets. *A Comprehensive Catalogue of Public Documents* of Congress and of all the departments of the Government of the United States has been published at the end of each congress since 1897. (There were some 2,542 quarto pages for the 70th Congress.) These catalogues and the documents may be obtained through the Superintendent of Documents at Washington, D. C. *The Annual Cumulative Bulletin of the Public Affairs Information Service* (first published in 1915) includes references to current public documents.

become a great research center, providing very exceptional facilities in its various divisions, including geography and fine arts, as well as history and literature. Its manuscript division is not only a depository for papers of American citizens who have been prominent in public affairs, but it has extensive collections of photostat copies of manuscripts which are deposited in foreign libraries.

The Library of Congress makes special and notably successful efforts to put its resources at the disposal of research students who can work in Washington; but it by no means confines itself to serving students who come to its doors. Through its loan system, operated in conjunction with other libraries in the United States and abroad, and, in very special cases, through loans to individual students outside Washington, it serves a very widely scattered constituency. It cooperates, not only with American libraries, but also with libraries in many foreign countries and with the Library of the League of Nations, in the exchange both of documentary material and of information as to what documents are available. Its representatives take part in international conferences which are concerned with library and bibliographical subjects. Its Division of Bibliography compiles lists of references on topics of current interest, particularly those under consideration in Congress. These are issued in multigraphed form and are kept up to date as nearly as practicable. They cover books, articles in periodicals, and a certain amount of unpublished material available in the Library itself. Some of these reading lists issued recently, for example, have been on the following subjects: Inter-Allied Debts to the United States, the Reparation Problem, the United States' Relations with Mexico and Central America, References on International Agreements as Distinguished from Formal Treaties, American Investments in Foreign Countries, Freedom of the Seas, and International American Conferences. Reading lists on such subjects as the Permanent Court of International Justice and the League of Nations are prepared annually or more frequently in order to keep them up to date.

The international aspects of the activities of the Library of Congress fall under six principal headings: "international exchanges, distribution of bibliographic apparatus and publications, cooperation with international associations and foreign libraries, contacts abroad through official representatives and otherwise, special library service and facilities, and certain divisional activities." Since 1886, the Library has been the agency for the exchange of official documents of the American and other governments. These exchanges are carried out in accordance with the pro-

visions of international conventions, the first of which was signed at Brussels in 1886. The Library also maintains a comprehensive system of exchange of international documentary material, and in this field is the depository for the documents, correspondence, periodicals, publications of learned societies, and similar material, received by the Smithsonian Institution. Through these exchange arrangements the Library receives annually in the neighborhood of 25,000 volumes, pamphlets, etc. The Library acquires a large number of documents under the provisions of the American copyright law, which requires the deposit with it of two copies of every copyrighted book. It also has been given or has purchased numerous collections of manuscripts and other documentary material in special fields. Thus, for example, by gift from the Emperor of China, through collection of volumes by various American Ministers to China, by purchase and from other sources the Library has come to possess one of the largest and best collections of Chinese documentary material outside of China. The Chinese and Japanese libraries together are known as the Division of Orientalia; it is under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel.

Whether the services which the Library renders to the officers of the American Government are more important than those to other libraries in the United States and abroad, to research students or organizations, and to the public generally, need not be argued. The essential point, in connection with this survey, is that today the Library of Congress is notably well equipped to supply students of international affairs with the fullest information available in almost any field, and that it is very active in making its facilities available to all who are interested. Although the Library receives its principal financial support from annual grants by the Congress of the United States, and though each House of Congress has a Committee on the Library and the two committees together constitute a Joint Committee on the Library, these Congressional bodies do not concern themselves with routine library affairs. The operation of the Library, in fact, has been strikingly free from involvement in political controversy.

PAN AMERICAN UNION

Washington, also, is the headquarters for the Pan American Union—the organization whose purpose is to promote cooperation between the twenty-one American Republics. This Union is supported by contributions from the various Governments, the quotas being determined on a population basis. Under the direction of a Governing Board, composed

of the Secretary of State of the United States and the Ambassadors, Ministers and *Chargés d'Affaires* of the Latin American countries accredited to the Government at Washington, the Union has come to be the principal center for the compilation and distribution of research material dealing particularly with inter-American questions.

The First International Conference of American States, meeting in Washington, in 1889, created the International Union of American Republics and, as its agency, the Commercial Bureau of American Republics, which began to function at the end of that year, under the supervision of the United States Government. In the course of the next few years, however, objections were raised to the limited scope of the Bureau and to its being responsible to a single member of the Union. As a consequence, succeeding Conferences gradually increased its responsibilities, and its control passed from the American Government to a Governing Board composed of the diplomatic representatives of all the American Republics, so that it is now a truly international institution under the supervision of an autonomous international body. In 1910 its name was changed to Pan American Union, and permanent headquarters were provided through the generosity of Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Since that time the Carnegie Corporation has contributed generously to the Union and to its library, as well as to the fund for enlarging the Pan American Building.

The Pan American Union was not formed for the purpose of settling international disputes, but rests rather on the idea of cooperation and mutual helpfulness, and by devoting its attention to problems that draw nations together and call for cooperative action it has developed through the years an atmosphere of good will and solidarity which has not only promoted cooperative action but has contributed to the peaceful settlement of such international differences as have arisen.

As the permanent Secretariat of the Union of American Republics, the Pan American Union is the custodian of the records of the International Conferences of American States and of general inter-American treaties; prepares the program and regulations for these Conferences and the many supplementary technical conferences, and carries into effect the resolutions adopted by them; assists in securing the ratification of treaties and conventions; and performs such other duties as the Conferences direct. It also serves the governments and peoples of the American Republics as a clearing house of information on all phases of inter-American activity.

As part of its research work, the Pan American Union keeps a con-

tinuous record of progress and inter-American movements in the major fields of human activity and endeavor—public health, labor, social service, education, art and literature, science, agriculture, manufacturing and industry, finance, commerce, and communication by land, sea, and air. A library of nearly 85,000 volumes of Americana has been built up as a great research agency. This is open to the public. The *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union serves as the regular medium for the dissemination of information, supplemented by several series of descriptive pamphlets covering the twenty-one countries of the Union, their principal cities, commodities of commerce, education, fine arts, and literature, as well as historical subjects. Monographs of a more technical character have been issued in special series on agriculture and forestry, archaeology, education, finance, industry and commerce, foreign trade, libraries and bibliography, social welfare, and treaties. In addition, a great variety of general and special bibliographies are constantly being compiled. Aside from this material designed to meet the needs of the general public, special reports are frequently prepared in connection with Pan American conferences.

The special research studies prepared for general use in recent years and dealing specifically with Latin-American subjects have dealt with such subjects as: courses of study in South American universities and secondary schools, medical research, railway development, labor legislation, women's property rights, trends of immigration, foreign trade, public finances, conciliation, arbitration, and international legislation. A substantial part of the work of the Union consists in the preparation of documentary material for the conferences and other activities of the various American governments and semi-official bodies. In the preparation of projects on the codification of international law, the Union has had the cooperation of the American Institute of International Law.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

Another organization which is closely connected with the Government, and is an exceedingly important center for research work in Washington, is the Smithsonian Institution. This Institution, founded through the bequest of James Smithson, of England, was established by act of Congress in 1846. It is the official agency for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The statutory members are the President of the United States, the vice president, the chief justice, and the heads of executive departments, while the business is conducted by a Board of Regents which includes the vice president, the chief justice, three mem-

bers each of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and six citizens of different states. The executive officer is the secretary, Dr. Charles Greeley Abbot.

The Institution directs the following organizations developed from its private initiative, for the maintenance of which Congress now provides by annual appropriation: the United States National Museum, the National Gallery of Art, the Bureau of American Ethnology, the Bureau of International Exchanges, the National Zoological Park, the Astrophysical Observatory, and the Regional Bureau for the United States of the International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.⁶ The Smithsonian Institution, itself, maintains forty-five distinct libraries, thirty-five of them being sectional libraries of the National Museum, which are small working libraries, its main library accumulations having been deposited in the Library of Congress. This Smithsonian Deposit contains more than 500,000 volumes, pamphlets, and charts, and forms an especially complete collection of the transactions of scientific and learned societies.

The Institution is the custodian of "all objects of art and of foreign and curious research, and all objects of natural history, plants and geological and mineralogical specimens belonging to the United States." All of this material, except art objects, is deposited in the United States National Museum, the art material coming under the National Gallery of Art, and the Freer Gallery of Art.⁷ The major departments of the National Museum are Geology, Biology, Anthropology, Art and Industries, and American History, the collections in all of which are among the greatest in size and in importance in the country.

The International Exchange Service of the Institution is the official United States agency for the exchange with foreign countries of parliamentary documents, departmental documents, and miscellaneous scientific and literary publications.

The research work financed by the Smithsonian Institution and its various subsidiary bodies is carried on principally in the field of the physical and natural rather than that of the social sciences and so will

⁶ The work of this Bureau was stopped June 30, 1933, because Congress failed to appropriate the necessary funds for its continuation. The new branch of the Institution's research work, which was begun in 1929, is supported wholly from private funds; it is known as the Division of Radiation and Organisms. Its primary function is the study of the dependence of plant growth in radiation in various circumstances of temperature, humidity, and carbon dioxide concentration in the air.

⁷ The Freer Gallery has an endowment for the study and acquisition of Oriental fine arts; its maintenance and custodianship is provided by government appropriation.

not be discussed in detail here. The results of this work are published in thirteen distinct series which are widely distributed throughout the world. Of the 1,064 libraries receiving every Smithsonian publication, 622 are in the United States and 445 in foreign countries.

RESEARCH ORGANIZATIONS WITH HEADQUARTERS AT WASHINGTON

Some of the other organizations which do research work in the international field and have their headquarters in Washington are the American Association for the Advancement of Science; American Council of Learned Societies, American Historical Association; American Society of International Law, American University Graduate School; The Brookings Institution; the Carnegie Institution of Washington; the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; the American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce; the Institute of International Law; and the National Research Council.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace maintains in Washington its Division of International Law and also one of the best reference libraries in international relations and in public international law in the country. The Division of Intercourse and Education and the Department of Economics and History center in New York City.

The major portion of the special library of the Carnegie Endowment consists of treatises on international law and relations, international arbitration and the peace movement, history, diplomacy, and law; but there are also works on economics, political, military and naval science, biography, and bibliography. Some of the interesting special collections are the literature of peace and war, including the World War, publications of the League of Nations, the Hague courts, leading peace societies throughout the world, proceedings of international arbitrations and conferences, and sets of American and English law reports, and collections of treaties.

The library is open to mature, duly qualified students, and has been widely used by officials (both of the United States and foreign governments in Washington), members of Congress and their assistants, and press representatives, and teachers. The total number of books in the library in December, 1933, was 51,122, while 247 current periodicals were received. Furthermore some 2,300 copies of the special reading lists were prepared in the library and sent out in 1933.

A chronicle of international events is kept up daily from the large number of periodicals and newspapers which come to the library. By

the use of this index, the librarian is able to answer questions in regard to current events falling within the scope of the Endowment's interest.

Many of the organizations which are interested in adult education (in the broad sense) have their headquarters or an important branch in Washington because of the opportunity which this gives to keep constantly in contact with the Government, both in securing information and in pressing for government action.

The International Labor Organization of the League of Nations maintains a branch office in Washington, similar to that maintained in the national capitals of many of its Member States. While this office has no official relation with the United States Government,⁸ it serves as a *liaison* body, cooperating closely with various government officials in furnishing information in regard to the international work of the I.L.O., and in collecting American material for use in Geneva. Frequent use is made both by government officials and research students, not only of the services of the staff of the Washington Office, but also of the complete set of documents of the Labor Organization, which are always available for consultation.

CENTERS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OUTSIDE THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

While Washington naturally offers unrivaled advantages for the study of politics and is rapidly developing research facilities which will be of primary importance in the field of international relations, there are other centers throughout the country which will be found more suitable for the study of important sections of the field by reason of the special interest which they have developed or which they represent. For students of international relations whose interests lie less in the field of politics than in that of economics or finance the great metropolitan centers still continue to outrank the National Capital in the advantages which they offer.

METROPOLITAN CENTERS

Some indication of the extent of these advantages is given in Chapter IV dealing with business and financial research. The great trading and money centers of the country have naturally drawn to them the technical and learned professions, especially those which transcend local interests and acquire an international outlook. For one thing the development of law has always been closely associated with that of

⁸ Cf. pp. 443 n. 6.

business to watch over and safeguard the rights of property and the machinery of its transfer. The students of the more practical aspects of international relations, those which have to do with the conduct of affairs, will, therefore, find in cities like New York or Chicago opportunities for the study of international relations which are not available in the isolation of academic study. Personal contact with men is as important for the understanding of affairs as it is for their conduct, and nothing can ever take the place of the city in this regard.

The advantages which the great cities offer are not limited, however, to business and its attendant professions. Scholarship, the sciences and the arts have also established themselves to a unique degree in the metropolitan centers. This is particularly true of the arts. Although there are few communities of any size in the United States which have not profited in recent years from the generosity of their citizens in the endowment of museums, libraries or foundations for the furtherance of art and its appreciation, yet the larger cities have more than kept pace with this nation-wide development. The bearing of the arts upon the study of international relations is for the most part indirect in the widening of the social outlook through contact with the creations—and sometimes the creators—of the arts of other lands; but in so far as the escape from provincialism is an essential part in the making of international-mindedness the museums of the country, as well as the societies and academies devoted to the arts, come within the scope of this survey.

It is not only by reason of their size that the great metropolitan collections have the advantage over those of smaller or more remote places; through policies of cooperation which have become almost universal the administrators of libraries and museums in the same city or locality plan to supplement each other and thus to cover much more of the existing material in any field than would be the case if each institution worked independently of its neighbors. To some extent this coordination has even become nation-wide; in the great cities it is fully in operation.

Thus in New York the Public Library cooperates with the museums and with the Library of Columbia University to build up one of the best reference centers in the world. Similarly the Boston Public Library supplements that of Harvard University, although the latter, containing more than three million volumes, is especially rich in the field of international relations, partly owing to the fact that throughout the critical years before, during, and after the World War the librarian was Professor Archibald Coolidge, widely recognized as an eminent authority in

this field. Philadelphia has also, in addition to its other collections, a unique academy, the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin. Although in the past it has been chiefly interested in other subjects to which Franklin contributed, a recent bequest may make possible an increased activity in the field of diplomacy and international law. The resources of Chicago are naturally much like those of New York, its Public Library supplementing the University libraries in much the same way, and the organizations of business and finance offering the same kind of opportunities. Cleveland, remarkable for its activities in adult education, has naturally included the study of international relations as a prominent part of that program. The Foreign Affairs Institute of the Adult Education Association of Cleveland, founded in January 1927, with Newton D. Baker as president, attempts to provide that the entire educational activity in Cleveland should be focused upon some particular aspect of foreign affairs at least once a year. The association is run in cooperation with Cleveland College of Western Reserve University. Furthermore, the Ohio School of the Air frequently broadcasts programs dealing with some phase of international affairs.

San Francisco is not so well placed, owing to the fact that the University of California is in Berkeley, across the bay, and that Stanford University, with its great Hoover War Library, is not within easy commuting distance. Strangely enough the city has not until recently taken advantage of its situation as the leading port on the Pacific to develop the study of Oriental peoples or even of Oriental trade. In the last few years, however, rapid progress has been made in this regard.

UNIVERSITIES

In the urban centers are to be found the two extremes of intellectual interest, "research" in the higher sense of the word and "study" that is hardly worthy of the name, on the one hand independent scientific or creative work, and on the other the popularization of knowledge for those untrained in thinking. Between these two activities lies the interest of what might be called the great middle class of the academic world, of students working under direction and instructors held to the routine of a curriculum. Like all disciplined bodies it is impressive by reason of its mass movement, but makes an appearance of greater uniformity than is actually the case. Just as those familiar with them know that different branches of the national service which outwardly resemble each other are often very unlike and even mutually incompatible, so the academic world, outwardly so uniform, is in reality composed of greatly

varied elements. This is especially the case with reference to a new subject like International Relations. The fact that it is offered in a college announcement does not necessarily mean that the opportunity for study is adequate. Many factors, both material and intellectual, must be borne in mind. To enumerate these and to analyze them in detail would, however, be of doubtful value because the proper guides to research are those which deal with highly specialized problems such as no general survey can adequately discuss. Moreover, the farther one proceeds in the field of research the more one finds that the location of materials and of the implements for investigation is an inherent part of the research itself. A survey like the present one is therefore not planned as a gazetteer to pathways of knowledge but as a record or description of the whole scheme of things which has to do with this phase of the nation's intellectual interest.

In general it may be said that the universities of the Eastern States have looked more toward Europe, those on the Pacific toward the Orient, while those of the Southern States have been especially interested in Latin-American relations. In the Middle West the interest in international affairs, contrary to an impression prevalent abroad, is fully as alive as in other parts of the country; and if, in some instances, the materials for sustained research are inadequate, they are often largely compensated for by the keen and active leadership of members of the teaching staff. In this orientation of interest the universities measure to a greater extent than has been recognized the dominant interest of the locations in which they are situated. In most cases it will be found that the fields which they have specially developed are precisely those in which the non-academic community with which they are associated, geographically or otherwise, has been most concerned. Where this happens the result is that the scientific resources of the university are rendered doubly valuable by reason of the non-academic equipment alongside. This is true both of the materials of research and the personnel of leadership. Contact with personalities experienced in public affairs is often of as much importance as the study of texts; this is especially the case in the field of international relations, both because of its relatively recent development and of the fact that it deals so largely with the technique of negotiations, a technique which does not readily lend itself to textual record. Against this localization of interest, however, must be laid the fact that objectivity in the social sciences—the criterion of this discipline—is more easily attained by those who can view the whole process of events in the relative perspective of distance.

The great universities of the East constitute a class by themselves, cherishing traditions from the colonial past and maintained by private endowments. Under these circumstances each has developed a more or less definite personality or trend in its outlook upon education and scholarship. In the social and political sciences this is particularly marked. Down to a half century ago these subjects were distinctly subordinate to the humanities in the curricula of colleges and universities. History was literature, economics was less esteemed than logic, and sociology was hardly taught at all. Then came the influence of Johns Hopkins University importing the methods of the German seminar. The same foreign influences played upon the transformation of Columbia College to Columbia University when Dean John W. Burgess founded the Faculty of Political Science, bringing to this country the doctrinaire philosophy of Bluntschli with its accent upon sovereignty, pioneering in the field of constitutional law. While Harvard University did not have a faculty of political science like Columbia, it drew distinguished scholars more in the way in which the English tradition has built up the scholarship of Oxford. Yale kept a more conservative outlook in the field of history but the students of Sumner's *Folkways* had the key to the larger outlook. At Princeton the strength of the conservative ideals could be measured by the support which Dean West was able to enlist against President Wilson. President Andrew D. White had brought to Cornell the scholarly liberalism of the *philosophe*, a tradition which still lingers there. The influence of Cornell University upon international affairs is, however, equally well known in the field of agricultural economics, in which it has trained teachers for many lands. In 1929 it was the meeting place for the Second International Congress of Agricultural Economists.

The offering which these Institutions present today in the field of international relations has been to some extent determined by their history. This is also true of their endowments. Thus, at the present time Harvard and Columbia and Yale Universities far outrank the others in the total funds at their disposal. While size is no criterion of excellence, it is, to some extent, of social values, and the fact that the graduate schools of Columbia University are now the largest, not only in this country, but anywhere in the world, is at least some indication of what the student body expects from it.

In all these older universities of the East the study of international relations has now definitely taken its place in the curriculum. In most cases, however, it is taught within departments of history, economics,

political science, or international law, and not as a separate subject with a separate discipline. The strength of this development may be estimated from the analysis of the subject matter of doctoral dissertations—a large proportion of which have been submitted to meet the requirements of these universities, and from the description of the course of study in International Relations which are comprised in Part Two, Chapter IX, of this survey.

The most distinctive creation, however, in the American educational system is not the endowed institution but the state university. Although every state has its university, the state universities of the Middle West have been especially strong, not only because lands were originally set aside for their support, but because state legislatures have made generous grants. There are also land-grant colleges, sometimes called "state" colleges, sometimes "agricultural" colleges. Moreover, in recent years state universities have received special endowments from private benefactors. The twelve million dollar bequest added to the two million eight hundred thousand trust fund, with which the Law School of the University of Michigan was endowed by Mr. William W. Cook, is perhaps the most striking illustration. State universities have also shared with private institutions gifts donated for special purposes by the endowed Foundations; the Library School at the University of North Carolina, for example, was aided by the Carnegie Corporation, while that at Louisiana State University received a gift from the General Education Board. Today fourteen of the twenty-nine institutions which are now members of the Association of American Universities are state universities; and at least a half dozen state universities rank with the great endowed institutions in equipment, faculty, and student body. The main purpose of these institutions has been to supply the education of a democracy through liberal provision for undergraduate and technical study, but some of the state universities have also developed graduate research faculties of the first order and in all of them the new interest in international relations has found its place. Ohio, the home of many colleges, maintains in addition to its State University at Columbus, Western Reserve University at Cleveland, Miami University with its Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, and the University of Cincinnati with its great influence upon the formation of opinion in the business world of that cosmopolitan city. Indiana, in addition to its State University at Bloomington, has also many live colleges and institutions like De Pauw University, which are vitalizing the outlook of the state. Michigan has in the State University at Ann

Arbor, one of the greater universities of the country, with a special endowment for the School of Law which may have international implications. The University of Illinois at Urbana ranks along with that of Chicago in international law and political science. The University of Wisconsin at Madison, one of the pioneer centers in the development of American historiography, is equally well equipped for the study of international relations, while that of Minnesota at Minneapolis has reached out to the study of the Orient as well as the relations with Europe and Canada.

The states west of the Mississippi all follow the models of those east in the creation of universities, as the universities themselves follow the shift in the curriculum by bringing in the study of international relations along with the familiar courses in history, economics, and political science. This trend is best illustrated by the endowment of a Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences in connection with the University of Denver at the foot of the Rockies which applies research to adult education and stimulates state-wide interest in international affairs by bringing to that part of the United States those who can speak with authority concerning the problems of other countries.

Among the universities of the South there are those like University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, University of North Carolina, at Chapel Hill, University of Georgia, at Athens, and Louisiana State University, at Baton Rouge, which have maintained their contact with the outside world by special institutes devoted to the study of the social sciences and more especially of international relations.⁹ Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, Tennessee, the University of Texas, in Austin, Tulane University in New Orleans, in recent years have been carrying on well-sustained programs of research in the social sciences (aided by subventions from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation). Duke University has a unique endowment for publication as well as for research. Upon the whole the southern universities and more especially those of the southwest tend to deal more with Latin America than is the case of the northern universities. This interest is specially developed in the University of Texas, which has benefited from the Farmer Foundation for exchange professorships and fellowships with Mexico.

Stanford University, supported by private endowment, has been especially noted for its interest in international affairs due in part to the

⁹ These institutes are described in *International Understanding*, by John Eugene Harley (Stanford University Press, 1931), pp. 234-238. Also compare pp. 123-125.

influence of its former president, Dr. David Starr Jordan. It has in the Hoover War Library the largest single collection of material dealing with current history on the Pacific coast and one of the largest in existence, containing as it does documents to be found nowhere else in the world on the history of Europe during the World War and the Paris Peace Conference. The Food Institute is also situated at Stanford.¹⁰ In Southern California the California Institute of Technology has in recent years added to its sections on the exact sciences one in the field of political science as well and called to this chair the Professor of Politics of Harvard University, Dr. W. B. Munro. In this connection it is also fitting to mention the Huntington Library, near Pasadena, with its priceless and unique collection of materials for the study of English history, to which English scholars of economics as well as history, have been drawn in recent years.

Among the state universities of the country the University of California at Berkeley has the distinction of being the largest. It has concentrated more especially upon the history of Latin America, but in recent years has developed a growing interest in the relations with the Orient. The University of Oregon at Eugene, hopefully set going upon broad scientific lines by ex-President Arnold Bennett Hall, has now unfortunately fallen victim to political factionalism, as was the case a few years ago with the University of Washington at Seattle, where, however, Dean Charles E. Martin, with the cooperation of the department of political science, has been able to secure special attention to international relations in the area of the Pacific.

In addition to the regular curricula of these universities there are a number of special organizations on the Pacific Coast devoted to the study of international relations.¹¹

Special mention should be made of the fact that the University of Hawaii maintains a summer school, or institute, with a staff including well-known specialists from the universities of the mainland. The advantages, physical as well as intellectual, of this meeting place of the races of the Pacific largely counterbalance the obstacle of distance.

The academic world of the Pacific coast region regards itself as one. That oneness includes the University of British Columbia as well as institutions of the various states south of the international boundary. The expression of this sense of unity is the Social Science Research Council in its Pacific coast section, the present head of which is Dr.

¹⁰ Cf. pp. 117-118.

¹¹ Cf. p. 126 for list of Pacific Coast Institutes.

Carl Alsberg of Stanford University, who is also the chairman of the National and International Research Committee of the Institute of Pacific Relations.¹²

LIBRARIES

America is justly proud of its public libraries. In no other country is so much effort or so much money spent upon the development, not only of the great libraries in the larger cities, but also upon smaller libraries everywhere throughout the country, even in villages. The profession of librarianship has been created to deal with this vast new instrument of public education, as well as to insure adequate administration of the great collections. Both in suggesting books to read and in making them accessible, the libraries seem ready to respond to any clear demand of public interest. In fact, they have done far more than other organizations in providing small reference collections which are made available to groups engaged in common study. They have likewise been active in providing bibliographies on subjects of immediate importance in world affairs as soon as they have recognized the possibility or the need of bringing such matters to the fore in the public interest. Moreover, most of the periodicals dealing with international relations are usually accessible in the general reading rooms. The libraries in the larger cities subscribe to and file weekly (sometimes daily) editions of important foreign newspapers; they frequently subscribe to the more important foreign journals which discuss public affairs.

The American Library Association, responsive to the developing interest in the study of international relations, has furnished tools for the assistance of those who would become better informed in this field. Since 1926 its general catalogue, prepared for the aid of public libraries, has had a special section on International Law and International Relations. As part of its series of suggestions for "Reading with a Purpose," it has from time to time, since 1926, published the following reading lists: *Americans from Abroad*, by John Palmer Gavit; *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, by Paul Scott Mowrer; *International Relations*, by Isaiah Bowman; and *The Pacific Area in International Relations*, by J. B. Condliffe.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in addition to its special research library in Washington,¹³ has, for the last ten years,

¹² Institute of Pacific Relations is discussed at length, pp. 228-230, 248-262.

¹³ Cf. pp. 60 f.

been furnishing "international-mind alcoves" to libraries in small communities. Under the ægis of the Division of Intercourse and Education these alcoves are given books dealing with the life and history of foreign peoples, shipments being made at intervals of three months until a small collection is built up. Gifts of the Endowment are then discontinued and its resources turned to building new alcoves elsewhere. In 1932 some 378 libraries were receiving books in this way; in 1933, 415 were beneficiaries; to date, 126 libraries have received their full quota.

The Library of Congress, a description of which has been given in connection with facilities for study in Washington, should be mentioned again in this section because its system of interlibrary loans assists local, special, and general libraries to be of use, to investigators engaged in serious research, the loan resting on the theory of special service to scholarship which it may not be within the power or the duty of the local library to render. Its purpose is to aid research calculated to advance the boundaries of knowledge, by the loan of *unusual* books not readily accessible elsewhere. For this and for bibliographical purposes generally, copies of the card catalogues of the Library of Congress are deposited in some seventy important libraries throughout the world. Moreover, for the aid of local libraries the Library of Congress accessions are catalogued in printed cards, obtainable at cost.

In many special fields the great libraries of New York, Boston, and Chicago are especially valuable. In the New York Public Library, for example, it is possible to have access to statistical trade data for foreign nations; tonnage and commodity figures, which government departments publish, month by month and year by year, may be studied here, as well as in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, and other long-established European countries. The larger libraries and the libraries of legislative reference in state capitals, such as the New York State Library, at Albany, are depositories of British Parliamentary Papers; some few have Canadian government publications; and it is also often possible to have access to many German, French, Spanish, and Italian government publications. These great depositories and most of the larger university libraries throughout the country have well-developed systems of exchange, and thus are frequently able to meet legitimate demands of researchers who are thereby enabled to avoid the expense of travel.

In the field of special libraries, as well as in the public library field, America has taken the lead. The great special library on the Pacific

coast is the Hoover War Library at Stanford University, which is also one of the best libraries in the country on the Peace Conference. In Chicago the Mid-West office of the League of Nations Association has recently opened a Library of International Relations which is used both by persons consulting its collection and by those seeking information by correspondence. In the East the Edwin Ginn Library of the World Peace Foundation, which includes a complete depository of the League of Nations material, is now housed in the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts.¹⁴

For the specialist who can use the Chinese language there is the Library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Harvard University.

New York City can almost be said to be the center of special libraries, privately owned by banks, engineers' associations, business organizations or by associations specializing in public affairs. A resource, non-American in origin, is the British Library of Information, in New York City. Its policy is generous, not only in loaning its own books, but in ascertaining the location of desired material, and in borrowing from abroad, if at all possible, the data essential to serious students. For students of Latin America the Library of the Hispanic Society of New York City is a resource which supplements that of the Pan American Union, in Washington, for each has specialized interests within its particular field.

Since 1930 the Council on Foreign Relations has maintained a special library of authoritative books and documentary material covering the political, economic, and legal aspects of international affairs since 1918.¹⁵

The most important and most available special library for the study of international relations is the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library, already described under the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. It is the joint reference library of the Foreign Policy Association, the League of Nations Association, and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, whose offices are on neighboring floors in the same building.¹⁶ Each association maintains a small working library for its own immediate use, and deposits its more general material in the Memorial Library. In its present adequate quarters, the facilities of this special library may be made use of increasingly, not only by students, but also by business men and women interested in special aspects of international relations.

¹⁴ Cf. pp. 84 f. and 129.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 77.

¹⁶ For other phases of cooperation between the Foreign Policy Association and other organizations of similar purpose see pp. 349-350.

Detailed information on all special libraries may be obtained from the Special Libraries Association, New York City. A revised directory of special libraries is to be published in the summer of 1934 which will indicate the libraries which have collections on special subjects.

MUSEUMS ¹⁷

Certain direct relations with other countries are maintained by our museums in the conduct of expeditions, in the purchase of objects for their collections, and in cooperation with museums abroad. Indirectly the museums may play a part in international relations by educating the public to some appreciation of the art and cultural background of other peoples.

Through newspaper and magazine articles the general public is more or less familiar with the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum in Egypt, of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Ur, and of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in the Near East and Upper Egypt. Facing the Nile at Luxor, the headquarters of the Oriental Institute in Egypt form a dignified group of buildings not far from the great temples of Karnak.

An example of international cooperation in archæology is furnished by the excavations begun at Ctesiphon in Irak in 1931 by the Near Eastern Department of the Metropolitan Museum and the Islamic Department of the German State Museums. The ancient site of Antioch is being excavated by the Worcester Museum, the Baltimore Museum, Princeton University, and the Louvre. Satisfactory negotiations as to the right to excavate and the ultimate destination of finds often mark a step forward in international good will. The Carnegie Institution in Washington has agreed to leave in Mexico the objects found in the excavations that it is sponsoring in that country.

In 1930, the American Museum of Natural History conducted thirty-seven expeditions, and to every continent except Australia. Much popular interest has been aroused by the result of Miss Malvina Hoffman's expedition for the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, a series of bronze busts and figures representing the principal living races of mankind. In 1932, the Paris Museum of Natural History, the British Museum (Natural History), and the Field Museum shared in a zoological expedition to French Indo-China, led by a well-known

¹⁷ For data concerning museums the editor is grateful to Mr. Laurence Vail Coleman, Director of the American Association of Museums, and to Miss Janet Moore.

French zoologist. The Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia has been suspended after ten seasons of excavation. In this time of enforced economies a number of scientific museums have been able to enlarge their collections by international exchanges.

The American Association of Museums has been developing contacts by means of travel and correspondence, with museums and museum associations throughout the world, and shares officially in the work of the International Museums Office which is organized under the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League. In 1929, with the aid of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Association made a survey of museums in Latin America that led to a report on inter-American relations and to the publication of a *Directory of Museums in South America*.¹⁸ Centered in Europe, but including the United States in their scope, are the discussions going on at present as to the overseas lending of great works of art from national art galleries, and the repatriation of objects removed from the national heritage to which they belong.

Here in America the museums offer opportunity for the study and appreciation of the art of other countries interpreted from time to time by public lectures and gallery talks. The frequent pilgrimages by German classes of the New York public schools to a model of the city of Nuremberg in the Metropolitan Museum is one instance of the way in which the permanent collections are used by language and history teachers.

In 1931 an exhibition of Modern Japanese Paintings was inaugurated at the Toledo Museum with the cooperation of the Imperial Japanese government. The Seattle Art Museum is especially interested in educational work which will lead to a greater appreciation of the civilizations of the East, their own collections emphasizing the history of Chinese art, but touching also on the art of Japan and India. Incidentally, a useful guide to the location of the Chinese and Japanese collections in this country has been published by the University of Chicago Press for the Institute of Pacific Relations.¹⁹

A number of special exhibitions have been arranged by various museums in an effort to present the cultural background of a particular group in that community. The Brooklyn Museum held an exhibition of Polish Art in November, 1933, arranged by the International School of

¹⁸ By Mr. Laurence Vail Coleman, published by American Association of Museums, Washington, 1929.

¹⁹ *China and Japan in Our Museums*, by Benjamin March.

Art in cooperation with the government of Poland. At that time a company of Polish children presented a program of songs and dances entitled "A Polish Harvest Festival," one in a series of national fêtes sponsored by the museum on Saturday mornings on a stage set with properties loaned by the museum. The Cleveland Museum has tried to interest foreign groups in exhibitions of peasant embroideries sometimes accompanied with the performance of national dances in costume. There are also a number of associations like the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature and Sciences in Minneapolis, and the Polish Arts Club of Chicago that encourage interest in the arts of a particular country.

Among other special exhibitions may be mentioned the international architectural show circulated by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, and the international exhibition of theater design.

The presence of distinguished foreign scholars makes still another point of international contact. Dr. Laurence Binyon, formerly deputy keeper of Oriental Prints of the British Museum, Dr. Auguste Desclos of the Office Nationale des Universités et Ecoles Françaises, Dr. Porphyrios Dikeos from the Museum of Antiquities of Nicosia in Cyprus, and Professor Erwin Panofsky of the University of Hamburg are among those who have lectured in the last year at our museums.

Finally, mention should be made of the international exhibitions of contemporary art, such as the Biennial Exhibition of the Carnegie Institute, Department of Fine Arts, in Pittsburgh, and the "International 1933" exhibition of paintings assembled by the College Art Association for the opening of the new building of the Worcester Museum. These exhibitions, which afterwards go on tour, present to a responsive public representative paintings from the various European countries side by side with its work of our modern American artists.

The *American Art Annual*, published by the American Federation of Arts, lists the organizations, aside from museums, that are concerned with the fine arts in this country. Some of the organizations have interests which are international in character. The College Art Association, for example, circulates traveling exhibitions to colleges, museums, and universities; offers scholarships; supports research; and publishes *Parnassus* (monthly), *Art Bulletin* (quarterly), and an annual, *Eastern Art*.

A directory of museums, including those active internationally, entitled *Handbook of American Museums*, is published by the American Association of Museums.

CHAPTER III

ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS GENERALLY

CERTAIN of the important research organizations in the United States are essentially academic in their associations—in the sense, at least, of being neither commercial nor governmental—but are neither affiliated with particular colleges or universities nor made up, like the learned societies, chiefly of men in the teaching profession. Several of these trace their origins, or the origin of their work in the international field, directly back to the special needs which developed during and immediately after the World War. Certain others have been created more recently by the combination of pre-existent, more or less overlapping bodies, the union being carried out for the sake of greater effectiveness.

During the Peace Conference, some of the members of the British and American delegations at Paris met at a gathering, in May, 1919, presided over by General Tasker H. Bliss, to plan an international organization which should continue, throughout the years following the Peace, the kind of cooperation of technical experts and statesmen which had grown up in the course of the Peace Conference between different national delegations. Although only the British and American delegates participated at this meeting, it was hoped that the representatives of other nations would be able to participate in the future, if those from the English-speaking delegations were able to organize in an effective way.

This meeting and later meetings resulted in the appointment of a committee¹ to develop the organization of an Institute of International Affairs. According to the original plan, this was to be composed of two branches, one in the United States and the other in the United Kingdom. The purpose of the Institute was to be "to keep its members in touch with the international situation and encourage them to study

¹ This Committee consisted of Professor A. C. Coolidge, Dr. James Brown Scott, and Dr. James T. Shotwell (Americans), and Mr. (now Sir) Cecil Hurst, Captain Clement Jones, and Major H. W. V. Temperley (British).

the relation between national policies and the interests of society as a whole." After the conclusion of the Peace Conference, however, it seemed more feasible for the British and the Americans to cooperate through separate national organizations, and the result was the formation of two organizations: the British Institute of International Affairs and the American Institute of International Affairs. The British body later became the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and the American Institute combined with the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

During the War, a group of leading citizens of New York had organized a body called the Council on Foreign Relations, with the object of promoting interest in foreign affairs by discussions at dinner meetings where distinguished foreigners would be entertained. Before the close of 1920, it became apparent that this body, while it had a strong local membership and a sound financial basis, lacked a policy of enduring interest. The American Institute of International Affairs, which had sprung from the meetings in Paris and consisted largely of academic and technical experts rather than of financial or business leaders, had a broadly conceived program, but its membership was scattered, and it lacked funds. A fusion was effected between the Institute and the Council which provided that there should be academic and professional membership outside, as well as in New York, and that the aims of the Institute were to be carried out through the reorganized Council. The result was the organization of the present Council on Foreign Relations.

The membership is strictly limited to those who have a real and active concern with foreign affairs. At the time of the incorporation of the reorganized Council in 1921, the membership was about 150; at the beginning of 1934, it was nearly 500, about one-third being resident outside New York City. The nature and quality of this membership is unique. It includes, not only leaders of industry and finance, but also authorities on international law, economics, and international relations, officers in the Foreign Service of the United States and in the Government Departments in Washington and abroad. The members thus have direct access to the facts which affect American foreign policy—or ought to affect it.

The needs of the Council for a conference, research, and library center led, in 1929, to the raising of funds for the purchase and equip-

ping of a permanent home for the organization. The house at 45 East 65th Street, New York City, was secured. This "Council House" provides suitable quarters for the executive offices of the Council, the editorial and business offices of the Council's quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*, and the research organization. It also houses the Council's reference library on international affairs in such surroundings as to make it readily available for the staff and members of the Council and for accredited American and foreign students. The Library, which covers the political, economic and legal aspects of international affairs since 1918, includes material on the internal situation of the various countries of the world as it affects their foreign policy, as well as reference and source material necessary to an understanding of the pre-War diplomatic and economic background. In addition to a large file of current foreign and American periodicals and newspapers, the Library receives all the publications of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice, and International Labor Office, etc. It has on its shelves official publications of the United States and other governments (complete sets of the American Foreign Relations and the British State Papers); a collection of selected American and foreign books, and the nucleus of a map collection. Rooms are available for conferences of the Council's study groups and for general Council meetings, and working facilities are provided for Council members and accredited foreign visitors, which provide useful contacts.

The gatherings under the Council's auspices include general meetings, group meetings and small expert study groups. The full membership is invited to the general meetings. Since the Council was formed, every Secretary of State has come up from Washington to address the Council on one or more occasions during his term of office. The speakers at the general meetings in the past few years have included: Foreign Minister Dino Grandi, Premier Pierre Laval, Premier James Ramsay MacDonald, Hon. Yosuke Matsuoka, Finance Minister T. V. Soong, and Senator William E. Borah.

The group meetings are smaller and more technical in nature, and are designed particularly to facilitate the discussion, in a non-partisan atmosphere and on their merits, of the facts affecting American foreign policy. These meetings have been addressed by such leaders as Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, Sir Arthur Salter, Mr. Henry M. Wallace, and Mr. Vincent Massey.

The third general category of discussion meetings are those of the study groups which are even more specifically for the careful analysis

of facts and the pooling of experience and points of view. There have been several occasions on which responsible officials of the Government have sought the views of the members of the groups on matters of policy which were in evolution. Sometimes, but not invariably, reports have been made. Four study groups have continued their studies in the same general fields for several seasons: the Mineral Group, the Far Eastern Group, the Latin-American Group, and the European Group. In 1931-32, there was a special Canadian-American Group, and in 1932-33, a Group on the State and Economic Life. In 1933-34, in addition to the four continuing groups listed above, a Canadian-American Group was again active and a Group on Collective Security was formed. During that year Group conferences were organized on American Neutrality Policy, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Henry L. Stimson, and on the Pros and Cons of National Self-Sufficiency, with Mr. John Foster Dulles as chairman.

In 1922, the Council on Foreign Relations established a quarterly review, *Foreign Affairs*, of which Professor A. C. Coolidge was editor until his death in 1928, when Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong assumed the editorship. This review has won recognition because of the authoritative character of its contributed articles, the judicious temper of its editorial direction, and its genuinely international policy. Its bibliographical section is edited by Professor William Langer of Harvard University; its documentary section is edited by Mr. Denys P. Myers, Librarian of the Edwin Ginn Library at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. The Council also makes special reprints of the bibliographical section of each issue of *Foreign Affairs* and distributes them to some 150 institutions, in various countries, which have requested them. In 1933, the Council drew together from the substance of the bibliographies of *Foreign Affairs* a comprehensive bibliography of post-War literature on international affairs in which were appraised some 7,000 books published in all Western languages between the years 1919 and 1932.²

The Council's research program comprises research in the exact sense, study and publication. The Council has published three volumes, since its research program was initiated, dealing with widely varied subjects.³ It also has prepared reference volumes, such as the annual

² *Foreign Affairs Bibliography—a Selected and Annotated List of Books on International Relations, 1919-32*. Dr. William L. Langer and Mr. Hamilton Fish Armstrong, Editors. Council on Foreign Relations, March, 1933.

³ *The Recovery of Germany*, by James W. Angell; *Ores and Industry in the Far East*, by H. Foster Bain; and *Europe: the World's Banker, 1870-1914*, by Herbert Feis.

Political Handbook of the World, edited by Walter H. Mallory, for the use of students of international affairs. The "Annual Survey," which was suggested in Paris, did not materialize until nine years later, in 1928, when it appeared as *Survey of American Foreign Relations*.⁴ The first four annual volumes of this series, edited by Mr. Charles P. Howland, provided the historical background of American foreign policy in Europe, the Caribbean, the Far East, and Mexico. Beginning in 1931, the annual volumes have been edited by Mr. Walter Lippmann, under the title, *The United States in World Affairs*, and deal with events year by year in a summary at once critical and interpretative.

In 1929 at an International Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, convened in London by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, the Council was asked to serve as the "coordinating center" for this body in the United States. The principal function involved in accepting this task was to serve as a channel through which the exchange of information, publications, and ideas could be effected between institutions in other countries and corresponding organizations in America. The Council has been represented at the Conferences; and in preparation for the one in 1933, the Council, through an *ad hoc* committee, prepared and presented at the study session the following American reports: *Financial Foreign Policy of the United States*, by James W. Angell; and *Tariff Policy of the United States*, by Percy W. Bidwell. In 1933, also, the Council on Foreign Relations and the American National Committee for International Intellectual Cooperation came to an agreement whereby the Council on Foreign Relations, as the National Coordinating Center, should adjust the changing membership of the Committee of Experts in order to see that the proper technical members are secured for the preparation of the topic to be discussed at the biennial conference. One representative of the Council on Foreign Relations and one representative nominated by the Committee of Experts shall be the official delegates at the administration session of the Conference. The annual report on the study of international relations in the United States submitted by the National Coordinating Center shall be prepared by the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.⁵

⁴ The British *Survey of International Affairs* began to appear in 1925.

⁵ The American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation is described on pp. 37, 449-451.

A number of other more specific projects of collaboration and study in which the Council has participated have been initiated, such as the study of the teaching of international relations in the several countries, and the preparation of a *Lexicon of Political Terms*. A *Directory of American Agencies Concerned with the Study of International Affairs* (1931) was prepared by the Council at the invitation of one of the Conferences.

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

A significant experiment in a new method of studying foreign affairs is that being carried on by the Institute of Current World Affairs of New York City. In the more important foreign countries the Institute maintains carefully selected individuals whose business it is to familiarize themselves thoroughly with the language, life and thought of the people, and with economic, political, and social conditions. The purpose is to build up a corps of men who will have intimate, thorough and first-hand knowledge of the developments throughout the world. The Institute has been working along these lines for a number of years under the direction of Mr. Walter S. Rogers, Mr. Charles S. Crane advancing the necessary funds. Shortly after 1925 Mr. Crane provided an initial endowment, which has since been increased. Both in organization and in method, the Institute presents the strongest possible contrast to most other organizations in this field. Its staff, with the exception of a small central body, lives and works abroad. While there has been a change from time to time in the countries to be studied, there have been long term investigations in countries as diverse as Mexico, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Soviet Russia, the Near East and Manchuria. The investigators are men carefully chosen for their peculiar tasks and able and willing to devote themselves to highly specialized investigations as well as to report upon outstanding movements in the cultural or political life of the countries in which they are living. It is a highly original experiment and one that is not without a certain measure of implied challenge to those other institutions of the social sciences which have often been content, or have felt themselves obliged, to accept their knowledge of other countries at second hand. The underlying principle of the Institute is that accurate information about foreign affairs rests upon accurate knowledge in the first instance as to the elements of the situation, and it is believed that only resident students, thoroughly familiar with the language and customs of the peoples among whom they live can supply this basic information. Although it

has been in existence for about ten years, the Institute regards its work as a continuing experiment, so far as method is concerned, and the program is, therefore, kept flexible so that it may profit from experience.

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION

Because of its popular "educational activities" (luncheon discussion meetings and radio broadcasts ⁶) the Foreign Policy Association is perhaps the best known of all the organizations which deal with international affairs.

This association was established under its present name in 1921 as an outgrowth of the earlier work of the Committee on American Policy (started in 1918) which became a League of Free Nations Association and then the Foreign Policy Association.

From the beginning the Foreign Policy Association was designed primarily as an agency for the promotion of better understanding of problems of international relations. Toward this end, public meetings, frequently luncheon discussions, with distinguished speakers on international subjects, were held from time to time. Before long, however, it became apparent that to fulfill its objects the Association well might undertake research work specifically designed to provide reliable and impartial information to newspaper editors, lecturers, university professors and students, public men, business men, and others who had occasion to discuss or deal with relations of the United States with other countries. Accordingly, a Research Department was established in 1925 with Professor Edward M. Earle as director. This phase of the Association's work so clearly proved its value that the department was reorganized and considerably expanded in 1927, and Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell became research director in that year, following Dr. Earle's resignation on account of illness. The constitution of the Association soon placed "research" ahead of "educational activities" in the statement of its purposes. On December 13, 1933, after Mr. James G. McDonald, who had been chairman of the Association since 1919, resigned to become High Commissioner for Refugees (Jewish and others) coming from Germany, Dr. Buell became president of the Association. The new position combines the duties of chairman of the Association with that of research director.

The results of the investigation of this Research Department are embodied in studies issued fortnightly; at first they appeared under

⁶ These are described on pp. 347-348.

the title of *Information Service Pamphlets*, recently they have been called *Foreign Policy Reports*. These reports are designed to provide a continuous scientific analysis of all important problems in current international affairs. Deliberately, the Research Department does not seek to avoid controversial subjects because, as Dr. Buell puts it: "We do not wish to minimize the importance of abstract scholarship, but we believe there is a fundamental need for the scientific examination of everyday international problems. It is our belief that the mere publication of facts, which interested parties may wish to hide, is a service of great importance." The Association is scrupulously careful to avoid taking sides on any international question and the *Foreign Policy Reports* themselves do not contain expressions of opinions from those who prepare them. They simply "set forth the relevant facts, show what the alternative policies are, and define the arguments for and against the adoption of each policy."

Something of the value of these research *Reports* is indicated by the fact that during the last four years, fifty-five leading universities and colleges in the United States have used them as obligatory material in international-relations courses. The *Reports* also are proving of great value to newspaper editors and press correspondents in Washington and abroad, as indicated by comments which have been received from these papers and by the growing extent to which the *Reports* are used as the basis for editorial comment and news stories. Men in public life, not only high officers of the Administration and of Congress in Washington, but also numerous important officials of foreign governments, have used these *Reports* on many occasions and found them exceedingly valuable. The various adult-education organizations in the United States—such as the League of Women Voters, the Federal Council of Churches, the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War—and the many study groups of various kinds which take up international questions, have come to depend in no small part on the *Foreign Policy Reports* for a basic summary of the facts pertinent to the discussions which they carry on. American business men who have occasion to deal with international questions likewise are using the *Reports* extensively.

A further development in the research activities of the Foreign Policy Association came in March, 1934, when President Carlos Men-dieta of Cuba invited the Association to organize a commission of scholars and experts to study the social and economic problems confronting Cuba. The Association accepted the invitation on the under-

standing that the Commission would work in complete scientific independence and would be financed by funds raised for the purpose by the Foreign Policy Association from non-governmental sources. The Rockefeller Foundation appropriated \$35,000 to finance this study. Mr. Buell serves as chairman of the Commission and Mr. Charles Thomson of the Foreign Policy Association staff serves as secretary. The Commission as a whole contains about fifteen members chosen from the United States and Cuba. This association of both Cubans and Americans upon an equal basis in this enterprise may constitute a unique experiment in international research.

The Association distributes to its members a small weekly *Bulletin* which describes itself as "an interpretation of current international events by members of the Research Staff." Each concise summary of events in the week's news is signed by the specialist who writes it.

In addition to the fortnightly research *Reports* and the weekly *Bulletin* members of the Research Department of the Association have prepared a number of volumes on different phases of international relations and foreign affairs. These have come to be standard sources of data in their various fields. The Association also supplies considerable information in response to particular inquiries from business men, government officials and others.

While the headquarters of the Association are in New York, an office is maintained in Washington both for the sake of facility of contact with the sources of information about governmental affairs and in order to make more readily available to the officers of the Government and to the Washington press correspondents the factual information which the Association gathers.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

The "International School of Peace" was founded and endowed by Edwin Ginn in 1910. In December of that year its name was changed to the World Peace Foundation.

According to its by-laws, "the corporation is constituted for the purpose of educating the people of all nations to a full knowledge of the waste and destructiveness of war." The great development of interest in peace and in international questions in general which came after the War, led the Foundation to concentrate on efforts to meet the need for authentic information through its own publications, and by a service of international documentation.

The Foundation has worked toward its goal "of making facts avail-

able in clear and unbiased form" by the publication of authoritative studies on salient world problems of especial concern to Americans, which are called the "World Peace Foundation Publications." They are issued, approximately six times a year, in substantial cloth-bound volumes with indices, and in inexpensive unindexed paper-bound booklets. Partly because of their availability, but mainly because they are competent, brief surveys of a wide variety of international questions, they are widely used by teachers, students, and libraries, and are frequently adopted as textbooks in connection with college courses, in much the same way as is the "International Conciliation" series of the Carnegie Endowment.

Since 1920 the World Peace Foundation has been the American agency for the sale of the publications of the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, the Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and nine other official and semi-official international unions, as follows: International Educational Cinematographic Institute; International Hydrographic Bureau; International Commission for Air Navigation; Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses; International Bureau of Weights and Measures; International Bureau of the Telegraphic Union; International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union; Central Office for International Railway Transport; United International Bureau of Industrial Literary and Artistic Property.

Through these arrangements the Foundation has made easily available in the United States authoritative sources of information on international affairs. It is now possible to obtain documentation ranging from the comprehensive official records of the League of Nations, International Labor Office and the World Court with their studies of fundamental world problems, to publications on subjects as diverse as school broadcasting, the rights of authors, the marking of buoys, and international planning of public works. Beginning with a small circulation among a few leading university libraries, this service has now reached impressive proportions. For example, nearly one-half of the world's total sale of League of Nations documents is effected by the Foundation, and the stock of publications constantly carried by the Foundation represents nearly 8,000 separate books, documents, and pamphlets.

As a necessary corollary to this distribution work the Foundation developed a good working library and an expert reference service. Following the opening, in the autumn of 1933, of the new Fletcher School

of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts, the Foundation and the Fletcher School effected a cooperative arrangement whereby the Foundation deposited its library at Medford under an agreement calling for joint operation of an "Edwin Ginn Library." Mr. Denys P. Myers continues as research director of the World Peace Foundation, but is simultaneously librarian at Medford.

At approximately the same time the Foundation opened offices in New York for the purpose of operating its distribution work in close collaboration with the Foreign Policy Association, as well as with the League of Nations Association.⁷

Perhaps the most notable single contribution of the World Peace Foundation Reference Service was the compilation in 1930 of the *Key to League of Nations Documents*, which is kept up to date by the publication of annual supplements. A *Subject Index to the Economic and Financial Documents of the League 1927 to 1930* has also been prepared under the direction of the Reference Service. Similar indices are planned for the future, as finances permit.

COOPERATIVE ACTIVITIES OF THE FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION AND THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

In the autumn of 1933 the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation inaugurated a new venture in the field of international education, which was a departure from the informational programs of both associations. The first step was to sponsor a series of independent committees, composed of well-known authorities and leaders of public opinion, which should study current international problems "with a view to the formulation of recommendations regarding the policy of the United States."⁸ The first report, issued in November, 1933, was by the Committee on Latin-American Policy under the title *Recommendations as to the Pan American Conference at Montevideo*. A prefatory note states that the report "is the result not only of individual study by the members, based upon memoranda and questionnaires prepared by the staffs of the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation, but also of a two day conference held by the Committee on October 28 and 29, 1933, at the Fletcher School of Law and

⁷ For description of the activities of the League of Nations Association see pp. 351-352.

⁸ Statement signed by Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell of the Foreign Policy Association and by Mr. Raymond Thomas Rich of the World Peace Foundation, introducing the first report.

Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts." The second number of "Foreign Policy Committee Reports," published January, 1934, was entitled *Recommendations Regarding the Future of the Philippines* and was also jointly sponsored. *Recommendations of the Committee on Foreign Policy*, which is "Foreign Policy Committee Report, Number 3," was distributed in March, 1934. The recommendations of these committees represent the individual views of the members and do not commit either the Foreign Policy Association or World Peace Foundation.

Another joint venture has been the series of "World Affairs Pamphlets," which are aimed "to assist the citizen in understanding the forces underlying contemporary international problems, and acquaint him with the results of research in international relations . . . and to secure a greater degree of cooperation between the various organizations dealing with foreign affairs."⁹ The "World Affairs Pamphlets" will appear about ten times a year, and are designed to be less detailed and more interpretative than the actual research data published by both organizations individually. Perhaps the most significant of the series so far published is that entitled *America Must Choose*, by Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace. This pamphlet aroused national comment in the press and resulted in a series of published replies by persons of importance in public affairs.

The Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation have been working out a study program with the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, an association of the leading women's organizations.¹⁰ As one of its chief activities, this Committee maintains in virtually every state in the Union a number of study groups dealing with international problems. The 1934 program calls for the organization of at least five hundred such study groups with a minimum membership of ten each; many to include both women and men. The committee in charge is enthusiastic over the possibility of synchronizing the work of the study groups with the new weekly radio broadcasts, which are to be sponsored jointly.

⁹ For fuller statement of the plans and aims of this series see the front page of each pamphlet. Other "World Affairs Pamphlets" so far published are: *The World Adrift*, by Raymond Leslie Buell; *Soviet Russia, 1917-1933*, by Vera Micheles Dean.

¹⁰ American Association of University Women, Council of Women for Home Missions, Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, National Council of Jewish Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, National Women's Christian Temperance Union, National Women's Conference of American Ethical Union, and National Women's Trade Union League.

The movement for combining resources and coordinating the programs of existing organizations has culminated in a project for association between the five following independent bodies, the Foreign Policy Association, the World Peace Foundation, the League of Nations Association, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Foreign Affairs Forum.¹¹ Joined in a loose federation, the extent of their cooperation will vary in accordance with the similarities of their programs. Housed in one building, with joint mail service, telephone service, secretarial and research staff, and library and research facilities, they hope to avoid any duplication of work and program, although all plan to continue their individual work as separate entities.

ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN SPECIAL FIELDS

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

The American Geographical Society is the only institution in the Western Hemisphere devoted exclusively to scientific research in geography. Even if studies in the field of international relations were not a definite item in the research program of such an institution, its continuing work in human, political, and economic geography would naturally produce much material of importance in the field.

The publication of articles dealing with the geographical aspects of international problems forms, however, an important part of the Society's research and publication programs. Not less than one-fifth of the articles, book reviews, and notes published since 1916 in the Society's journal, the *Geographical Review*, fall in this group. A series of articles on the economic and ethnological problems of Europe was published in the *Review* during the World War, and was followed by a series of critiques on boundary settlements, illustrated throughout by detailed maps. Numerous timely articles, reviews, and notes on boundary problems and boundary settlements in other parts of the world have also been published in the *Review*. Less directly connected with problems in international relations are many articles and notes on population and colonization, and studies in economic development and transportation.

The Society has published a number of monographs on questions of special significance in international relations. *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe* (1917), by Leon Dominian, is a study of the connection between linguistic areas in Europe and the subdivision of the

¹¹ The Foreign Affairs Forum is described, p. 350.

continent by nationality. *Recent Colonization in Chile* (1921), by Mark Jefferson, deals with European colonies in southern Chile, the national origins of settlers, settlement conditions, and the potentialities of the region for further colonization. *The Land Systems of Mexico* (1923), by G. M. McBride, is a scientific study of forms of land tenure in Mexico and the conditions of land ownership that has had a profound effect on the agrarian policies of the Obregon Government and its successors and has been consulted by the Governments of several states in South America. (A volume on the *Land Systems of Chile* by the same author is in preparation.) *China: Land of Famine* (1926), by Walter H. Mallory, is an analysis of the economic, natural, political, and social causes of China's chronic famines. *The Pioneer Fringe* (1931), by Isaiah Bowman, is a study in settlement in the leading frontier areas. *Pioneer Settlement* (1932) is a series of Cooperative Studies by twenty-six authors presenting first-hand information on the progress of settlement under a wide variety of conditions in the principal pioneer areas of the world.

The first edition of *The New World*,¹² by Isaiah Bowman, was published in 1921. In the preparation of this volume a collection of data in the field of political geography was made at the rooms of the American Geographical Society. This formed the nucleus of a growing library on current world problems, especially in their geographical aspects.

In addition to its research work and publications on questions of international import, the Society has, on a number of occasions, taken an active part in the settlement of international disputes. In 1917 and 1918 the Inquiry, organized under the auspices of the United States Government to assemble data and prepare reports and maps for the use of the American Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, was housed at the Society's headquarters in New York and had the administrative advice of Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director of the Society, who also acted as Chief Territorial Specialist to the American Delegation at Paris in 1919. The assistance given to the American Delegation by the Inquiry was of outstanding importance in the making of the Treaty of Peace. The volume and character of the material assembled for the use of the Delegation was due in no small part to the research facilities afforded by the Society.

In 1919, when a serious crisis had developed in the boundary dispute

¹² *The New World* was not published by the American Geographical Society as one of its own monographs, but by special arrangement with the publishers, the World Book Company, it was distributed to Fellows.

between Guatemala and Honduras, the Society, at the request of the United States Department of State and of the two governments involved, conducted an Economic Survey of the territory in dispute. Hostilities were imminent before the survey was undertaken but the prospect of a rational settlement led to a period of quiet, even if prolonged, negotiation. The reports of the Economic Survey have played an important rôle in subsequent discussions of the boundary problem. The map compiled by the survey was used as its official map by the Special Tribunal which in 1933 finally settled the dispute and as the base on which the final Award Map was compiled.

The need of research work of similar nature throughout the whole of Hispanic America, thus brought to the attention of the Society, resulted in the organization in 1920 of a Department in Hispanic-American Research. Special studies have since been made of population distribution, colonization problems, development of transportation, and boundary disputes. As a basis for the work, a great map of all of Hispanic America of 102 sheets, on the scheme of the International Map of the World on the Scale of 1 : 1,000,000 is being produced. The Tacna-Arica plebiscitary and boundary commissions under Generals Pershing and Morrow used the Tacna-Arica section of this map as their base map. In 1929 this department of the Society, at the request of the Committee of Inquiry and Conciliation on Paraguay and Bolivia, prepared the official base map for the committee and furnished information on the region and suggestions as to a boundary that would satisfy the needs of both countries. In connection with the Leticia dispute both the Peruvian and Colombian Governments are employing the sheets of the Millionth Map covering the Leticia region. A survey of the Venezuela-Colombia boundary north of the eighth parallel of latitude is now being carried out, and the chiefs of both the Colombian and Venezuelan Commissions have indicated their use in the field of the Society's compilations.

Of the work in the international field which the Society has undertaken both on its own responsibility and in collaboration with other organizations, one of the most important items is the study now under way of pioneer areas throughout the world. This has received the cooperation and support of the Social Science Research Council. The two volumes mentioned above, *The Pioneer Fringe* and *Pioneer Settlement*, represent the first published results. The former, by Dr. Bowman, is a picture of the contemporary pioneering movement, which involves millions of people and countries as diverse as Siberia, Patagonia, Man-

churia, and the Canadian Northwest. The authors of the latter, *Pioneer Settlement*, represent twenty-one institutions in ten countries, and their papers reflect every facet of the varied problems of settlement by different nations and races under a wide variety of conditions upon the world's frontiers. Remote regions of inner Australia, the advancing fringe of settlement on the borders of the subtropical highlands of South Africa, the tide of settlement in Manchuria and Mongolia, the remote stations of modern settlement along the Andean border of South America, and the vigorous pioneer advance in the Canadian Northwest, are all described by men with first-hand knowledge of local conditions. A parallel series, of nine studies, entitled the "Canadian Pioneer Settlement" has also been approved by the National Research Council; it has had financial support from the Social Science Research Council, and cooperation from the American Geographical Society.

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

The Brookings Institution is the result of the amalgamation of three earlier organizations: the Institute of Government Research, the Institute of Economics and the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, all of which were located in Washington, as is The Brookings Institution.

The first of these was established in 1916 by a group of public-spirited citizens with the primary purpose of promoting efficiency and economy in governmental administration, national, state, and local, through expert nonpartisan research in that field. The Institute of Economics was set up in 1922 by the Carnegie Corporation with "the sole object of ascertaining the facts about current economic problems and interpreting these facts to the people of the United States in the most simple and understandable form." The Graduate School of Economics and Government was started in 1923 as an affiliate of Washington University (in St. Louis) to provide facilities for advanced students in Washington under the guidance of the Institute of Government Research and the Institute of Economics. The three organizations were formally amalgamated in 1928, with Dr. Harold G. Moulton as president of The Brookings Institution. The Institution was named after Mr. Robert S. Brookings of St. Louis, who had been instrumental in launching the earlier organizations.

The Institute of Government Research of The Brookings Institution has concerned itself chiefly with problems of American governmental administration, but a number of its studies in this field have dealt with

international relations—such as the monographs on the Department of State, on the Foreign Service and on other governmental agencies concerned with the foreign field. This department of The Brookings Institution also has made studies of the governmental administration of Germany and France.

The Institute of Economics has devoted a good deal of its attention to international economic questions, and its studies in this field are among the most valuable which have been made in recent years. A wide range both of countries and of economic and financial problems has been covered in these studies: reparations, intergovernmental debts, tariff and transportation problems, the economic and financial situations of Germany, Russia, Italy, Japan, Bulgaria, France, and the Danubian states. Other volumes have been published on subjects less exclusively economic, such as the constitutional development of the League of Nations, the record of labor's efforts to organize internationally, the methods which have been tried to develop the international control of raw materials, the balance of births and deaths, various aspects of American economic and other relations with Germany, Europe, Cuba, Britain, etc. Studies now in hand deal with the post-War stabilization of foreign exchanges and the factors affecting the price of silver.¹³ Many of these books also have been published in translations into one or more foreign languages, and in special British editions.

The Brookings Institution is an educational, as well as a research, organization. At the time of the amalgamation of the three prior organizations, in 1928, the specific goal of the doctorate was abandoned in the educational side of the Institution's activities, and the grade of work was raised to supergraduate level, supplementing, rather than replacing, the work of the universities. The future program of The Brookings Institution calls for the creation of further semi-autonomous research institutes in the field of the social sciences. One of these—an Institute of International Relations—already has been approved in principle by the trustees.

In addition to this educational work in Washington, The Brookings Institution organized through the 1932-33 season a series of weekly broadcasts over a nation-wide radio hook-up, discussing current national and international economic questions of importance. This activity was undertaken at the request of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education.

¹³ Details of the publications of the Institution may be secured from the Institution or by reference to the *Foreign Affairs Bibliography*. (Council on Foreign Relations, 1933.)

NATIONAL BUREAU OF
ECONOMIC RESEARCH

Another organization on the border line between the academic and the business worlds is the National Bureau of Economic Research which was established in 1920 "to lay a solid foundation of knowledge upon which policies can be builded through the presentation and coordination of facts regarding social, economic and industrial problems." There are three classes of directors—those "at large," among whom are high officers in business organizations, those "by university appointment," who are distinguished professors in leading universities, and those especially appointed by the American Bankers Association, the American Economic Association, the American Engineering Council, the American Federation of Labor, the American Management Association, the American Statistical Association, and the National Publishers Association. All the reports of the National Bureau are subject to the approval of its directors. Its publications are thus in the hands of men whose approach to the problem is both that of the impersonal student and that of the practical business leader.

The research work was, until 1933, under the joint direction of Dr. Edwin F. Gay, of Harvard University, and Dr. Wesley C. Mitchell, of Columbia. The pressure of other duties compelled Dr. Gay to resign his executive post, and Dr. Mitchell became the Director of Research. In addition to regularly employed members of the research staff, a few research associates are at times appointed for short terms on projects which fit in with the National Bureau's program. Also, studies have been made in cooperation with the Committee on Recent Economic Changes, the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, and the United States Department of Commerce.

Although the work of the National Bureau is concerned chiefly with economic problems in the United States, it has made several important studies in the international field: *Business Annals*, by Willard Thorp (1926), an historical description of business conditions in numerous foreign countries as well as in the United States; *International Migrations*, Vol. I, Statistics (1929); Vol. II, Interpretations (1931)—both volumes edited by Walter F. Wilcox; *German Business Cycles*, by Carl T. Schmidt (1934).¹⁴

¹⁴ Dr. Mitchell's study of business cycles as revealed by developments in leading countries during the last century or more, is still in process. The first volume, *Business Cycles: the Problem and Its Setting*, was published in 1927.

A complete list of the 25 volumes already published is contained in the Annual

NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL
CONFERENCE BOARD

Especially important in relation to business is the National Industrial Conference Board, which, like several other organizations already discussed, originated during the World War period. Nearly a year before the United States entered the War, a number of industrial leaders came to realize the need for better adjustment in the relation of employment to the development of industry, and for a better understanding of the relations between industry and general economic and social conditions. Representatives of twelve major branches of American industry met to discuss these questions, and as a result of these conferences the National Industrial Conference Board was organized on May 5, 1916. The basic purposes of the organization were to create "a private forum comprising leading industrial executives for frank discussion of the economic and social problems of American industry and for promotion of industrial progress along sound lines" and to establish "a competent research agency that would discover and analyze the facts relating to those problems and provide the material for comprehensive discussions."

In the early stages of the work of the Conference Board, the research studies were concerned chiefly with questions bearing on the employment relation in industry, but gradually the field of research activities has been extended to include, not only the status of American wage earners, but also the relationships of industrial units with each other, and those between American industry and Government, and society in general. In the last few years, the Board has felt increasingly the need for attention to the study of economic conditions in foreign countries and of the economic relations between the United States and other nations. Because of this logical and progressive extension of the scope of its work, the Board has developed wide-spread "contact with business leaders and economists throughout the world, broadened the economic outlook of its membership, and created wider interest in the results of its investigations."

The record of the publications of the Board illustrates this recent growth of interest in foreign affairs and roughly the proportion of atten-

Report of the Director of Research, which may be obtained by writing to the National Bureau, 1819 Broadway, New York. For European countries, all books may be obtained from Macmillan and Company, London.

The *Bulletin* of the National Bureau is now available on subscription (5 issues for \$1.00).

tion given by the Board to conditions outside of the United States. In the first years of its work (1917 to 1922, that is, during the last part of, and immediately following, the War) the Board published ten studies dealing with industrial conditions abroad out of a total of seventy-nine volumes. This was 12.7 percent of the total publications for this period. In the next five years (1923 to 1927) the Board published fifty-six volumes, of which none were devoted specifically to foreign subjects, although some contained incidental references to conditions abroad. That the interest in foreign conditions has revived in the last five years (1928 to 1932) is indicated by the fact that out of seventy-two volumes published during this period, fourteen, or 19.4 percent, of the total were specifically on foreign questions, while a number of others brought in discussions of conditions abroad as an important part of the study.

Particularly significant among these studies of foreign conditions have been the series of volumes entitled *A Picture of World Economic Conditions*, the first of which was issued in October, 1928. These were issued semi-annually under the same general title until 1931. Volumes VI, VII, and VIII, issued early in 1931, 1932, and 1933, respectively, were based on the present plan of an annual study of conditions at the beginning of the year of publication. Besides these annual volumes, the Board has issued, or has in preparation, volumes dealing with American foreign trade, the international financial position of the United States, the American merchant marine problems, factors in the economic trend of the world, and the demand for different types of fuel and power.

The work of the Board is not designed primarily to provide specific information in response to individual requests from business firms as to market possibilities or similar subjects of a commercial character either in the United States or abroad, although if such inquiries come from the members or affiliated organizations, they are given attention. The chief emphasis in the research work of the Board is on the careful analysis of fundamental economic conditions in order to promote better understanding of general trends, rather than on small-scale studies to answer specific detailed questions.

The Board has no endowment, but depends entirely on voluntary subscriptions. The Board, therefore, continuously must justify its existence by the results of its work—and the fact that it has suffered considerably less than many of the trade organizations in the present depression shows conclusively that the leaders of American industry realize the value of the kind of impartial and broadly conceived research work which the staff of the Board does.

The membership of the Board is made up entirely of business men but the Board has a number of councilors, among whom are distinguished scholars and statesmen. Fifteen business organizations are affiliated with the Board, each one of which designates certain officers to be members of the Board. The United States' Army and Navy also are represented by designated members. The majority of the members of the Board, however, are elected as individuals. At the end of 1932, of the total Board membership of ninety-two persons, thirty-four were designated members from the affiliated organizations and fifty-eight were elected members. At that same time there were thirty-one councilors, of whom twenty-two were officers of business organizations, six were distinguished scholars, and three were prominent members of the diplomatic service of the United States. The Board had forty-seven regularly appointed correspondents in twenty-three countries, and in addition it worked closely with numerous other agencies in foreign countries, both in getting the information for its studies and in distributing its publications.

In addition to its research studies, the Board holds regular monthly meetings of its members and especially invited guests at which various questions connected with the problems in the field of the Board's interest are discussed. Many noted foreign economists and industrial leaders have addressed these meetings. The annual meetings are devoted to discussions of general subjects—that in 1933 was given over to consideration of the international economic situation.

THE TAYLOR SOCIETY

The Taylor Society, which is the pioneer and leader in the field of scientific management, is another organization which has found itself becoming increasingly international in interest and membership. Originally organized in 1912 for the encouragement of the study and practice of scientific management in industry, the Society, though nominally international, for a number of years actually was almost entirely American in membership, and the call for its services came largely from American sources. In more recent years, however, both its membership and its contacts and interest outside of the United States have steadily increased until now more than one-fourth of its members are non-American, and a very substantial part of its work in connection with the development of the technique and application of scientific management lies outside of the United States. This Society is an active associate of the International Management Institute at Geneva, and its

director until 1934, Mr. H. S. Person, has played an important part in the meetings of International Management Congresses.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS COUNSELORS

Industrial Relations Counselors was organized in 1926 for the purpose of conducting studies and publishing research reports and making surveys and maintaining a counseling service on technical procedure in the field of human relationships in industry. It is incorporated under the New York State laws as a non-profit organization and the principal financial support comes from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Very soon after the organization was formed it became apparent that a broader research basis was needed for its work, and the research studies in recent years have formed a larger part of the Counselors' activities. In this research work "emphasis is laid on the international point of view, and foreign as well as American experience is considered." Most of the work of Industrial Relations Counselors still has to do with problems of industrial relations in the United States, but it has made and published recently a comprehensive investigation of unemployment insurance conditions and practices. This has been published in four volumes.¹⁵ Similarly the Counselors have prepared three volumes of studies of industrial and trade union pension systems, inside and outside the United States.¹⁶ A study of administrative procedure of public employment offices and unemployment insurance which will include in its purview Great Britain, Germany, France, Switzerland, Sweden, and Canada, as well as the United States, is now under way.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS, LEARNED SOCIETIES, AND ACADEMIES

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

Professional men in the United States—lawyers, engineers, statisticians and physicians, as well as professors and scientists—have found it necessary to establish increasingly more effective contacts outside the United States and to keep themselves intimately in touch with foreign developments in their special fields of interest. The national organiza-

¹⁵ The Unemployment Insurance Library. Vol. I: *Unemployment Benefits in the United States*, by Bryce M. Stewart; 1930. Vol. II: *Unemployment Insurance in Great Britain*, by Mary Barnett Gilson; 1931. Vol. III: *Unemployment Insurance in Switzerland*, by T. G. Spates and G. S. Rabinovitch; 1931. Vol. IV: *Unemployment Insurance in Belgium*, by Constance A. Kiehel; 1932.

¹⁶ *Industrial Pension Systems in the United States and Canada*, by Murray Webb Latimer; 2 vols., 1933. *Trade Union Pension Systems*, by Murray Webb Latimer; 1933.

tions of these professional men, practically without exception, have affiliations with international bodies, and make special efforts to keep their members informed of important professional developments abroad.

The members of the American Medical Association, for example, through their *Journal* keep constantly in touch with new development in medicine abroad. The *Journal* maintains a large staff of foreign correspondents in practically all of the most important countries in the world and the letters of these correspondents, which are published each week, deal with a great number of subjects of interest and importance to physicians everywhere. The Association does not maintain any direct membership relations with the medical organizations of other countries and membership is limited to physicians of the United States and its territories. The Association, however, is represented at the meetings of international groups by officially designated delegates; it also maintains most cordial relations with medical organizations outside the United States. The various councils and bureaus of the Association frequently secure information from officers of official groups abroad and, in turn, provide information concerning the work of the American Medical Association and matters of interest to the medical profession in other countries.

International affiliations of actuaries are conducted in a manner slightly different from those of the medical profession. A goodly number of actuarial associations have national organizations and interests.¹⁷ Among those in the United States, for example, there are the Actuarial Society of America, the American Institute of Actuaries, and the Casualty Actuarial Society. Fellows and Associates of the last-named society, however, are members of the Comité permanent des Congres international d'actuaries which was organized in 1895 by the first meeting of the International Congress of Actuaries. The seven pre-War Congresses met in Brussels in 1895, in London in 1898, in Paris in 1900, in New York in 1903, in Berlin in 1906, in Vienna in 1909, and in Amsterdam in 1912. The first post-War Congress assembled in London in 1927; the next, which was the ninth in succession, in Stockholm in 1930. *The Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Actuaries*, in four volumes deals with all phases of insurance, from the point of view or practice, of the countries represented in the Congress.

¹⁷ James S. Elston, "Actuarial Statistical and Related Organizations in the United States and Abroad." *Proceedings of the Casualty Actuarial Society*, XIX, Pt. 1, No. 39 (Nov. 1932, p. 85 ff.).

From 1896 to 1931 the Comité permanent of the Congress published a *Bulletin* which was the best single source of information concerning the literature on insurance published in other countries.

Similarly there is an Institut international des sciences administratives which for seven years has published a *Revue internationale des sciences administratives* containing articles authoritative in character, contributed by prominent representatives of the national associations affiliated.

The *Recueil de statistique de l'Institut international du commerce* has been published monthly since 1921 by l'Office statistique commerciale de l'Institut, Bruxelles. These monthlies contain summaries of world commerce, classified in tables as follows: (1) production and stocks (according to countries); (2) prices, wholesale and retail, of ninety products, and their index numbers; (3) trade in import and export commodities for more than fifty countries; (4) transportation and navigation figures which included railway traffic, aeronautical navigation, and maritime navigation; (5) labor and migration figures including unemployment statistics for twenty-five countries; and (6) finances, including banking statements, bond market figures, exchange rates, and data concerning public finance of many countries. A detailed table in six languages is issued in the March number.

The International Congress on Accounting which met in the City of New York, September, 1929, was sponsored by the American Institute of Accountants, the American Society of Certified Public Accountants, the National Association of Cost Accountants, the American Association of University Instructors in Accounting, and by state Societies of Certified Public Accountants in the United States. The representatives assembled were from Mexico, Porto Rico, Central America, and Canada, and from thirteen European countries. In July, 1933, representatives from nine European countries, the British Dominions, Japan, Mexico, and the United States met in London. Meanwhile even national associations have become more international in character. The American Institute of Accountants, for example, at their Annual Meeting, held at New Orleans, Louisiana, in October, 1933, received greetings from the president of the Dominion Association of Chartered Accountants, from the president of the Instituto contadores publicos titulados de Mexico, and from a member of the Institute in Tientsin, China. At the same meeting among the reports from special committees was one on international double taxation.

SOCIETIES OF ENGINEERS

The engineers of the United States find it even more necessary to keep in touch with world developments than do medical men, accountants, and the like. This is natural enough because American engineers have been called on for consultation, or more active participation, in engineering projects in all parts of the world.

There are in the United States four principal engineering organizations: the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the American Society of Civil Engineers, and the American Society of Mechanical Engineers. These four organizations have their headquarters in the Engineering Building in New York City, where they maintain what is probably the best specialized engineering library in the United States—a library which includes volumes dealing with engineering subjects and the development of engineering in all countries. This library also subscribes to nearly 2,000 engineering and scientific periodicals from all over the world.

In connection with this library the four engineering bodies maintain the Engineering Index Service. This service makes abstracts of the important articles on engineering subjects which appear in the periodicals subscribed for by the library, and also briefly reviews the important new engineering books. Each of the four organizations of engineers publishes in its journal the material pertinent to its own special field which is prepared by this index service. These journals also devote a substantial proportion of space to articles about, and discussions of, engineering projects and developments throughout the world—this being natural enough, since American engineers are concerned with so many of these undertakings.

Each one of these organizations, while predominantly American in membership, includes a substantial number of foreign members, and among the American members are many resident abroad. Of the 15,000 members of the American Society of Civil Engineers, for example, 675 reside outside the United States, as do even a larger proportion of the 20,000 members of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

The last-named Society, perhaps, is the most active of the four in its international contacts. Since 1889 it has officially exchanged visits with other engineering bodies, notably those in England and Germany, in many instances officially holding joint professional meetings, each

participating body publishing the papers read at these meetings. This Society maintains about 100 depositories for its publications in the leading capitals of the world. It acts as host to the American branch of the Newcomen Society of London, the Société des Ingenieurs Civils de France, and the Zirkel of the Verein deutscher Ingenieure of Germany. It participates as a direct or indirect member in the activities of the World Power Conference, the International Electrotechnical Commission, the International Standards Association, the International Congress of Applied Mechanics, and the International Management Institute. It also cooperates with such organizations as the Institute of International Education and the Pan American Union. As a regular part of the work of its technical committees, contacts with men of similar interests abroad are maintained.

The American Society of Civil Engineers has no official connections with foreign countries, but it has many contacts with foreign organizations in connection with technical programs, representation at foreign technical meetings, and similar activities. The Society administers a scholarship instituted by Mr. John R. Freeman, which enables young engineers to go abroad for a year's study of hydraulics.

The American Institute of Electrical Engineers has among its technical committees a Committee on Research which, like the research committees of the other engineering bodies, works with similar committees in organizations abroad. The International Electrotechnical Commission arose out of the International Electrical Congress held in St. Louis in 1904 under the auspices of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. This International Commission, with the active cooperation of the American Institute, has been in large part responsible for the cooperation which has developed in the establishment of uniformity of practice, nomenclature, and writing in the electrical industry throughout the world; and this establishment of a uniform practice in turn has been one of the important factors in opening foreign markets to American electrical products.

The American Standards Association was founded in 1918 by the civil, mechanical, electrical, and mining engineering societies and by the American Society for Testing Materials, to serve as a clearing house for all national standards. Today the Association is a federation of thirty-eight technical and trade organizations and several government departments. It publishes from time to time American Standards in pamphlet and book form, and issues a magazine entitled *Industrial Standardization and Commercial Standards Monthly* which is devoted

exclusively to standards projects in every field. The Association, at its headquarters in New York, maintains a comprehensive file of both domestic and foreign standards, the latter being lent to members on request. As a member of the International Standards Associations,¹⁸ founded in 1929 with headquarters in Basle, Switzerland, the American Standards Association serves as the secretariat of a number of international standards projects and is the *liaison* agency between domestic and foreign standardization work.

The American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers has a larger proportion of its membership residing abroad than have the other principal engineering associations. The number of foreign engineers who are members is also proportionately large. As its agency for encouraging specific research work within its field, this Institute established in 1930 the Mineral Inquiry "to make effectual studies of the mineral resources of the United States and of the world in their political and national relations." While the Inquiry itself "is an inspirer of publications rather than a publisher," it has sponsored a number of important studies within its particular field. Its Chairman, Dr. H. Foster Bain, has also written *Ores and Industry in the Far East*.^{18a}

ASSOCIATIONS OF LAWYERS

Apart from international law, which is discussed elsewhere,¹⁹ there is a wide field of international jurisprudence of interest to the legal profession. Practicing lawyers and other persons interested primarily in the law affecting business relations have formed an American Branch of the International Law Association. The Branch holds regular meetings, and many of its members attend the meetings of the Association, which are usually held in Europe. In 1930, however, a meeting of the Association was held in New York. Committees of the American Branch have taken part in studies carried on by the Association with the object of improving the international practice in respect of business transactions, and have joined in the debates at the meetings of the Association. The American Bar Association at its meeting in 1933 established a new Section of International and Comparative Law, formed of members of the Association interested in the study and practice of international law. The Association has long had a standing

¹⁸ Now known as International Federation of National Standardizing Agencies.

^{18a} Published by the Council on Foreign Relations, 1927.

¹⁹ Cf. Chapter VIII, *seriatim*.

committee on international law which reports regularly at meetings of the Association. The Association had established a Comparative Law Bureau in 1910. This Bureau for a time published an *Annual Bulletin* reviewing the development of legislation and judicial interpretation in foreign countries. Several codes of foreign laws have been published under its auspices. In the last few years, however, the Bureau has been comparatively inactive. This inactivity is due in part to the fact that many members of the Bar Association, who were especially interested in international law, joined with the teachers of this subject in the formation of the American Society of International Law. It is also partly due to the marked increase in recent years in the compilation and publication of documents bearing on the legal systems of other countries under the auspices of such organizations as the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Bureau of International Research at Harvard, and similar bodies. Lawyers practicing maritime law are obliged to consider the international aspects of their subject. Several American lawyers are members of the Comité maritime international, which has its seat at Antwerp, and attend its meetings where questions of maritime law are debated. The Maritime Law Association, formed of American lawyers in New York, takes a share in the work of the Comité by answering questionnaires sent to it by the Comité bearing on problems of international maritime law.

The interest of the lawyers in foreign law has by no means died out, however, even among those who are not especially connected with the American Society of International Law. Thus the Association of the Bar of the City of New York has a special Committee on Foreign Law and Comparative Laws. As a research body this Committee investigates and reports on special topics in the field of private international law. Another of the principal activities of the Committee has been the compilation of working bibliographies of legal literature in various foreign countries. Among those already covered—either published or in preparation—are bibliographies for the Argentine, Austria, the Central American Republics, Yugoslavia, Portugal, and Uruguay. This Committee is also making studies on such subjects as the judicial status of non-registered foreign corporations in Latin-American countries, the conflict of laws in America and Germany, the probate of wills and the administration of estates, and C. I. F.²⁰ contracts under American and European laws. Somewhat similar work, but on a less ambitious scale, is done by the American Foreign Law Association, the function of

²⁰ Cost, Insurance, Freight.

which "is the study and dissemination of information regarding limited problems of comparative law chiefly related to commercial law problems and also the publication of bibliographies of foreign law material." These two organizations are characteristic examples of a fairly large number of special committees of state or city bar associations, or similar bodies, which do more or less careful research work in international law questions.

LEARNED SOCIETIES

American learned societies generally ²¹—those belonging to the social sciences, as well as scientific and professional bodies—were originally organized to concern themselves with their own specialized interests, which did not necessarily touch international relations. In recent years, however, professional and scholarly groups as well as international lawyers, engineers and others concerned with practical affairs or public welfare—the biochemists, physiologists, astronomers and historians—have had their international affiliations, their committees, congresses and the like. In their international meetings for the discussion of scientific findings, these learned societies do not necessarily contribute to the study of international relations, but, since science knows no national boundaries, the universal character of their interests and the experience of international associations, in reality, builds international relationships.

The American Statistical Association, the oldest of the learned societies in the United States, from its very beginning developed international contacts. At its first quarterly meeting in 1839, it elected foreign members. Beginning with 1860, the Association has been in touch with the International Statistical Institute, which publishes a quarterly, *Revue de l'Institut international de statistique*. The American Statis-

²¹ There is no manual describing or listing completely the Learned Societies as they exist today. The *Handbook of Learned Societies and Institutions*, edited by Dr. J. David Thompson (Carnegie Institution, 1908), is a comprehensive and still useful survey of the older organizations of this kind. The report of a survey entitled *Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences* (The Century Co., 1928), which was conducted for the American Council of Learned Societies by Frederic Austin Ogg, is the most complete statement. The *Report of the American Council of Learned Societies* for May, 1932 (Bulletin No. 17) furnishes a ready guide to the principal national bodies in the humanistic field. The organizations in the field of the physical sciences—and some only indirectly connected with work in this field—are described in the *Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the United States and Canada*, compiled by Clarence J. West, Callie Hull, and the National Research Council of Canada (published by the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences, Washington, 1930).

tical Association's quarterly is the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*.

In recent years, however, learned societies of the social science group quite naturally, because their membership is composed largely of professors and teachers in universities and colleges, have been giving more and more attention, not only to research in special fields of knowledge, but to research in international relations as a field of knowledge, and to the discussion of the findings of such research. They have also been interested in improving the tools and the opportunities for further research.

From the time of its organization in 1884, the American Historical Association has taken a very active interest not only in the historical development but in the foreign affairs of the nations of the world: American and European primarily, but latterly Latin-American and Far Eastern as well. The members of the American Historical Association have been responsible for a large proportion of the contribution to knowledge in these fields, which Americans have made during the last fifty years.

One of the specialized activities of the Association is the maintenance of a standing committee on the documentary historical publication of the United States Government. It has also been particularly active in promoting two very valuable publications of the State Department: the series of volumes known as the "Foreign Relations of the United States," and the "Treaty series."

There has also been a Public Archives Commission which has concerned itself with the preservation of documents, including records of the World War; it has urged the preservation of records of the Food Administration and the Shipping Board as well as those of the State Department. The Public Archives Committee has also been one of the active influences that agitated the necessity of an Archives Building in Washington, which is now a reality.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, which includes the "Proceedings" of the Annual Meetings—national and regional—and a bibliography of American history are published annually by the United States Government; they are listed with the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. Since 1918 the bibliography has been published as a supplementary volume of the *Report*, entitled *Writings on American History*.²² It is what its title implies—American history in

²² The Bibliography Committee of the American Historical Association has sponsored bibliographies entitled *Writings on American History* ever since

the continental sense: books on Canadian history and books on other parts of the Western Hemisphere and on the Pacific islands—if published in the United States and Europe—have been included. The use of the term American history is not the reflection of recent influences; it has been the policy ever since the bibliography was begun.

In 1911, the Committee on Bibliography published a *Check-List of European History Collections* with annotations indicating in which libraries in this country they might be found. More recently (1930) Volume I of the *Report* included a *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July 1931*. The list includes many collections of very recent date. It does not, however, include the transcriptions and photostats from foreign archives (except in a few special cases); that extensive reproduction, being carried on by means of the Rockefeller grant of 1927, is not yet completed. In addition, Volume III, of the *Annual Report* for 1930 was *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834*. In 1931 (through the Macmillan Company) this committee of the Association published *A Guide to Historical Literature*, which is an annotated list of "carefully chosen, available books in each of the several fields of World History."

The *American Historical Review* is the Association's quarterly journal. It frequently carries material that is the product of research in international relations; in point of time, however, it is historical more often than contemporary.

The *Journal of Modern History* has been published quarterly, in co-operation with the Modern European History Section of the American Historical Association, by the University of Chicago. From time to time in the five years of its existence it has contained articles which deal with aspects of modern history that are related to, or are a part of, modern international relations.

The *Pacific Historical Review*, issued quarterly by the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, publishes studies which not only touch the Pacific Rim—the Dutch East Indies, Peru, Korea—but the whole world. Recent numbers, for example, discuss "Private American loans to the Allies," "Archives of the Russian Church in Alaska," and "American Recognition Policy toward China."

The *Historical Outlook*—a journal for teachers of history, contem-

1902. They were published under various auspices: in 1902 at Princeton University; from 1903-1905 by the Carnegie Institution of Washington; from 1906-1908 they were published by The Macmillan Company; since 1909 they have been part of the *Report*.

porary as well as ancient, medieval and American—has been sponsored since 1909 by a committee of the American Historical Association in cooperation with the National Board of Historical Service. The *Historical Outlook* very frequently reviews books and discusses topics of vital interest in the teaching of "current history."

In January, 1934, the *Historical Outlook* appeared as *The Social Studies*. Dr. Charles A. Beard is chairman of the Executive Board; the managing editor has just completed his work as Executive Secretary of the Social Studies Investigation which was sponsored by the American Historical Association. The Board of Editors includes a representative from the American Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Economic Association. It is planned to make this publication henceforth an organ for the consideration of teaching problems not only in history but in the other social sciences as well, and to offer practical suggestions for the coordination of the social science disciplines. In this way it will furnish a continuing means for the exposition of the work begun by the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.

The Commission on the Social Studies was sponsored by the American Historical Association to make a survey of the relation of history to the other social sciences, and of the relation of all to training for citizenship in a democratic society. It was its responsibility to propose a program in education which should assist the youth of the nation to understand the political, social and economic factors in the everyday world of common experience. The study of international relations will be part of the whole program of social sciences because those relations effect the world in which all live and earn. The published *Report* of the Commission is described below in Chapter XIV, on the teaching of International Relations in the Schools.²³

The American Historical Association has encouraged research and publication through the granting of certain prizes carrying money value. The Justin Winsor Prize in American History, until 1930, was granted to studies in the history of the United States and other countries of the Western Hemisphere; it was given in even years, alternating with the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize which, until 1931, was granted to monographs in the history of countries in the Eastern Hemisphere. The George Louis Beer Prize continues to be granted for monographs in European international history.

American historians have affiliations with several international groups

²³ Cf. pp. 324 f.

of world-wide membership. The Union Academique Internationale, organized in 1919, has already been described under the Council of Learned Societies²⁴ through which the member societies participate—the American Political Science Association and others of the social science group, as well as the American Historical Association. The Anglo-American Conference is also a post-War development. The meeting in London, July 15-18, 1931, was the third in this quinquennial series. This conference, in distinction from the others, is a meeting of historians who wish to attend, as well as of representatives of institutions and organizations which appoint delegates. Its organization is simple and unpretentious in character; those who attend derive much practical value from the conference and from the pleasurable associations incident to the formal meetings. Attendance of American scholars has increased greatly since the first meeting in 1921; in 1933 about a fourth of those registered were from the United States. British attendance was representative of nearly all parts of the Empire. "The historical scholarship of the English-speaking world is under no small obligation to the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London, and particularly to its director, Professor A. F. Pollard, under whose auspices and inspiration these meetings have been organized."²⁵

A third international connection of the American Historical Association is with the International Committee of Historical Sciences and its congresses. The American Historical Association maintains a representation on the Committee and contributes annually to its support. The Committee's secretary, Professor M. Lhéritier, is resident in Paris.

The International Committee of the Historical Sciences was set up in 1926, after several years of preparation, to group together the historians of all countries with a view to the furtherance of their common task and the overcoming of the obstacles to scientific work which arose as a result of the World War. The foundation of the Committee constituted in itself an instrument of understanding and reconciliation after the enmities caused by the War, and was one of the first steps taken to reestablish a general intellectual cooperation between the nations. The work thus accomplished had an importance which reached far beyond the purely technical interests which it represented. It had a real and profound influence on both the historical method and on the conception of history which in turn was largely molding public opinion.

²⁴ Cf. p. 42 note 17.

²⁵ This statement is based on Dr. Waldo G. Leland's report in the *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (October, 1931), 58-64.

The International Committee on Historical Science has now a membership in forty-two different nations, most of them in Europe and America. In all these countries national committees have been constituted having as their special aim the maintenance of international co-operation and the application of its results and its point of view in the historical sciences to each of the participating nations. In the seven years which have passed since its foundation the Committee has held annual meetings, each time in a different country, and has organized two great International Historical Congresses, one at Oslo in 1928 and one at Warsaw in 1933, each of which was attended by over a thousand participants coming from all parts of the world.

The Committee publishes a *Bulletin*²⁶ which is the organ of all of its cooperative enterprises both scientific and practical. This periodical is an intermediary between historians of different countries both to assist in technical research and to keep historians informed concerning matters of general interest. More technical still is the authoritative Historical International Bibliography which lists the historical publications of different countries according to the international point of view. The Committee also prepares general bibliographies in special fields; for instance, it has begun a comprehensive Bibliography of the Press, and in conformity with the Resolution of 1932 a similar Bibliography of the History of the Peace Movement has been undertaken under the direction of the librarian of the Peace Palace at The Hague and with the cooperation of distinguished leaders in the peace movement. In addition the Committee has set about the publication of a large work giving a general view of the history of all modern constitutions. Acting upon an American suggestion it has also undertaken to prepare a complete list of the diplomatic representatives of all countries since 1648, a most important instrument for checking the data of diplomatic history. Other enterprises of this kind deal with the registration of iconographic documents, the collection of basic material for maps, the solution of important archival questions and the like. For all these enterprises special international commissions have been created working with collaborators in the different countries concerned.

A large Commission deals with the teaching of history. As this raises very delicate problems the Commission has been obliged to move very carefully and confine itself to an insistence upon the strict observance of scientific objectivity in the textbooks of all grades. As a first step it

²⁶ *The Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, Vol. I, Part 1, was published October, 1926.

brought together the existing textbooks in all countries and then set about securing a revision which would pay special attention to securing accuracy as to the political developments and civilization of other nations.

An account of the pre-War meetings—Paris in 1900, Rome in 1903, Berlin in 1908, and London in 1913—is included with an account of the post-War meeting in Brussels in 1923 in the first *Bulletin* of the Committee.²⁷ The foundation of the present permanent Committee at Geneva in 1926 was largely the result of the diplomacy and resourcefulness of the American members. An appreciation of the work of the Committee was given by Professor Halvden Koht at the Congress at Warsaw in 1933.²⁸

The following general statement concerning these international conferences is by Dr. Waldo G. Leland, who has had a major part in the organization of the World Congress and of the International Committee of Historical Sciences.

In nearly all fields of learning the number and variety of international congresses have greatly increased since the War, but in no field has the increase been more marked than in history. In addition to the long-standing quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences, we now have numerous congresses devoted to special subjects such as the history of science, the history of literature, Byzantine history, the history of religion, and the history of art, and also congresses of general scope that bring together scholars of different countries possessed of the same or of closely related languages. Examples of these are the Historikertag of the Germans and Austrians, and annual meeting of French and Belgian historians, the Scandinavian congresses, the congresses of the historians of Eastern Europe, and, finally, the Anglo-American conference. One can not help wondering whether all these manifestations are rich enough in results to warrant the expenditure of time and effort and money that they demand, or to justify their momentary diversion of scholarship from its usual pursuits. But perhaps it is fairer to see in them encouraging signs of a growing sense of interdependence and of an increasing appreciation of the value of the personal exchange of ideas. There can be little doubt that all this activity is both natural and salutary in the present state of the world's affairs, and if, in the course of events, it

²⁷ *Ibid.* Also *American Historical Review*, XXXI (October, 1926), 726-731. The American members were Dr. Waldo G. Leland and Dr. James T. Shotwell. A full report of the activities of the American Historical Association in connection with this International Committee is contained in the *Annual Report* for 1931, I, 66 ff.

²⁸ This is available in the *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* for 1933, Vol. V, Pt. IV, pp. 902-905.

should become excessive and burdensome, the corrective will be promptly applied through the abstention of those for whose benefit it is designed.²⁹

The American Economic Association is a contemporary of the American Historical Association, having been founded a year later—in 1885. Its membership, including business men, journalists, lawyers, and men in public life, as well as the college and university teachers and professors, is interested in the economic phases of political and social questions. For that very reason it has been inevitable that the Association has tended more and more in recent years to discuss the economic phases of international questions. Its quarterly journal, the *American Economic Review*, published since 1911, as well as the Proceedings of its meetings give evidence of this tendency. The research activities of economists and university departments of economics in relation to international problems, in particular, are discussed at length in Chapter VII of this survey.

The American Anthropological Association with the American Psychological Association have been included with the American Sociological Society in the group called the social science associations. The first contributes to the endeavor to understand the social factors in national characteristics and international relations; the last, interested in the scientific study of society, finds itself interested in social problems of modern international relationships. All these associations, especially the American Sociological Society, participate, through their representatives, in cooperative research in the field of the social sciences. The *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, initiated by the Sociological Society in 1923, is sponsored by the entire group and by others like the Association of Law Schools and the National Educational Association. The editor-in-chief since 1926 has been Professor E. R. A. Seligman; the first volume was published in 1930. The "Papers" of the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Society are issued under the subject-title of the Meetings; that for 1933 was *Racial Contacts and Social Research*, The Sociological Society, Volume XXVIII. These "Papers" and the bimonthly *American Journal of Sociology* are published by the University of Chicago Press.

Two other sociological journals of international import may be mentioned in this connection, namely, *Social Research: an International Quarterly of Political and Social Science*, which has been published by the New School for Social Research of New York City since February, 1934; and *Sociology and Social Research: an International Journal*,

²⁹ *American Historical Review*, XXXVII (October, 1931), 58-64.

which has been published, with international editorship, bimonthly since 1925, by the University of Southern California.

The American Political Science Association, established in 1904, is only one year older than the American Sociological Society; membership in both is approximately 2,000 strong, while the Economic and Historical Associations exceed the 3,000 mark. The American Political Science Association, however, through the interest of its members in diplomacy, international law, and comparative government, as well as in political theory, local government, and labor problems, has been the Learned Society within which groups have quite naturally specialized in the research and discussion of contemporary phases of international relations. This is to be expected since it is the teachers of political science, who, in the main, are directing the study of international relations in the universities and colleges of the country. The bimonthly journal, *The American Political Science Review*, nearly always contains some article or group of articles on international relations; it frequently carries a department entitled, "Notes in International Affairs"; a book review section covers recent volumes relating to world politics and international relations.

In relation to research, the American Political Science Association, however, deserves credit for initiating the movement that eventuated in the organization of the Social Science Research Council,³⁰ which has contributed both to the correlation of research as between disciplines and projects, and to specific projects in research in international relations. A committee on research of the American Political Science Association, which reported at its Christmas meeting in 1922, described the existing conditions which handicapped achievement in research; they also outlined the essential needs if scholarship was to prevail and to achieve. The committee, having realized that the unfavorable conditions under which political scientists were working were common to all the social sciences, recommended the establishment of the Social Science Research Council. The permanent organization which was effected on May 17, 1923, included only the American Political Science Association and the American Economic Association. The American Statistical Association joined in December, 1923; the American Psychological Association, in December, 1924; the American Anthropological Association, in January, 1925; and the American Historical Association, in March, 1925.

The membership of the American Association of University Profes-

³⁰ Cf. p. 38.

sors includes a multitude with philosophic, literary, linguistic, and scientific interests along with those of the social science group. The University professors as a group have concerned themselves, naturally enough, with the international exchange of professors, and in whatever study and association may widen and enrich the experience of its members. Within the last five years, however, their journal, entitled *The Association of American Colleges Bulletin* has carried articles which indicate a recognition of the importance of giving attention to international affairs.³¹ These articles are important, not only because they reveal that the attention of the American University professor is being directed to the study of international relations, but because the articles themselves are statements which parallel this survey.

ACADEMIES

Within the general group of Learned Societies, but with an organization and method of functioning somewhat different from those already mentioned, are the Learned Academies. One of the chief differences is that the membership of the Academies tends to be less strictly confined to those professionally concerned with teaching. These Academies, as well as the Learned Societies, both in their regular meetings and publications, have been taking a progressively more active interest in international questions.

The Academy of Political Science was founded in 1880 in connection with the organization of the Faculty of Political Science at Columbia University. In its early years its program was devoted exclusively to American questions. More recently, however, questions arising out of international relations have received much attention. Only two of the twenty-four numbers of the *Proceedings* issued before 1917, for example, had to do with international questions. In 1917, two numbers were issued on *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Volume VII). All the numbers in Volumes XIV and XV (May, 1930, to June, 1933) have been made up of papers on international subjects. The Academy holds two general meetings a year in New York City—usually in the spring and the autumn—each of which is devoted to a subject which is pertinent to recent economic events or problems, national or international; the papers are published as the *Proceedings* of the Academy.

The *Political Science Quarterly*, which is the official organ of the Academy, is devoted to political, economic, and public law discussions,

³¹ Vol. XV, No. 2, May, 1929; Vol. XVII, No. 3, November, 1931; Vol. XV, No. 3, November, 1929.

and follows the movements of international affairs particularly as they affect the United States. This *Quarterly* also carries an important bibliographical section and publishes from time to time texts of important documents.

The present membership of the organization is approximately 6,800, including about 1,100 subscribing libraries and organizations. The Academy does not itself maintain a research organization but its activities are designed to be of interest particularly to specialists in the political science field.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science with its seat at Philadelphia was organized in 1889 "to provide a national forum for the discussion of political and social questions and to present reliable information to assist the public in forming intelligent and accurate opinions." It scrupulously refrains from taking sides on controversial questions and in both its meetings and its "Annals" endeavors to secure the presentation of differing points of view.

The Academy holds small monthly meetings and larger two-day annual meetings in the spring. Each of the annual meetings since 1921 has been devoted to the consideration of international subjects and the papers read in these meetings are published in the "Annals"; in 1924, for example, the "Annals" concerned *Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the Commercial Policies of Nations*; in 1925, *American Policy and International Society*; in 1930, *Economics of World Peace*. The meetings of the Academy are not designed primarily to be gatherings of experts for technical discussion, although they are addressed by experts and frequently the addresses are the result of research, as are the papers in the six issues of the "Annals," which are published annually.

Since its organization, the Academy has been interested in international, as well as national, questions, recognizing that in many cases the solution of national problems requires an understanding of the international aspects of the same problems. It works in close cooperation with branches or affiliated academies in several parts of the United States. One of these branches, with headquarters in Los Angeles, began in 1928 the publication of its own "Proceedings." This branch interests itself particularly in subjects involving Latin America and the Pacific area.

Associated with the Academy of Political and Social Science, but having an independent organization, is the Academy of World Economics, with headquarters at Washington. It was organized in 1932, particularly to provide a forum for the discussion of "the science of

economics from the world point of view," and to bring together those connected with the many organizations in Washington interested in this subject. Members of the Academy of Political and Social Science residing in Virginia, the District of Columbia, and Maryland, may become members of the Academy of World Economics, and all members of the latter Academy enjoy the advantages of members of the former. The Academy of World Economics conducted a two-day session, on the subject "Gold: a World Problem," at the Institute of Public Affairs held under the auspices of the University of Virginia in 1932.

ORGANIZATIONS IN UNIVERSITIES

Associated with a number of the universities are special bodies of various kinds established primarily to do research work. These generally serve as the coordinating agencies for the research of members of the faculties of the schools with which they are connected, although they do not in every case cover all the research work done by faculty members. Most of these bodies which have to do with the social sciences are so organized as to cover a considerably wider field than that of international relations, but many of them include within their scope provisions for studies of these relations or of foreign affairs. A few of the organizations—either special bureaus or general research bodies—are organized to deal primarily, if not exclusively, with international subjects.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

RESEARCH BUREAUS

The Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College is perhaps the most important of the special research bodies connected with universities which devote themselves primarily to the study of international relations or foreign affairs. Its establishment in 1924 was made possible by a grant from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial "for the development of research of an international character in the social sciences." A new grant in 1929 for research in "international relations" provided for the maintenance of the work of this Bureau until 1939. Since the start, the chairman has been Professor George Grafton Wilson.

The Bureau has promoted studies in a very wide variety of subjects. Attention is given chiefly to current problems of international relations and international law, but the fundamental social, racial, economic, psychological, and political factors, also, are studied. Of the sixty-four

studies which have been, or are being, made under the direction of the Bureau, ten of the more important are in the field of international law, seven (prior to 1929) were anthropological studies, seven are specifically in the international economic field, and the remainder cover many subjects—for example, the native problem in Africa, the South American attitude toward the United States, the Chinese Revolution, the Soviet rule in Russia, the exchange of minorities, international plebiscites, education, and international relations.³²

The funds available to the Bureau are used in the main to assist research undertaken by members of the faculties of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, but teachers from other universities and colleges may also be invited to cooperate. No fellowships are maintained by the Bureau, but occasionally grants for work under the direction of the faculty are made to younger scholars who have completed their graduate work.

Other examples of such organizations set up especially to study subjects in the international relations field are the Research in International Law at Harvard University (discussed in more detail elsewhere in this survey)³³ and the Bureau of International Relations, affiliated with the University of California (at Berkeley). This latter organization, which was founded in 1921, works under the direction of the Department of Political Science of the University. It has no regular

³² The following list of the publications in international relations, including financial problems, and regional studies having international implications, is given to indicate, not only the importance of the studies sponsored by the Bureau of International Research, but more especially to remind us that some of them, which are well known, have been made possible by the Bureau. Two of the list were published by the Harvard University Press, namely, *The Chinese Revolution, a Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power*, by Arthur N. Holcombe (1930) and *Post-War Treaties for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; a Compilation and Analysis of Treaties of Investigation, Concluded during the First Decade Following the World War*, by Max Habicht (1931). The rest were published by the Macmillan Company; chronologically arranged, they are: *The Native Problem in Africa*, by Raymond Leslie Buell (1928); *South America Looks at the United States*, by Clarence H. Haring (1929); *The Position of Foreign States before Belgian Courts*, by Eleanor Wyllys Allen (1929); *Soviet Rule in Russia*, by Walter Russell Batsell (1929); *The French Franc, 1914-1928; the Facts and Their Interpretation*, by Eleanor Lansing Dulles (1929); *Monetary Problems of the British Empire*, by S. E. Harris (1931); *Public Debts and State Succession*, by Ernst H. Feilchenfeld (1931); *The Bank of International Settlements at Work*, by Eleanor Lansing Dulles (1932); *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey*, by Stephen P. Ladas (1932); *Regional Guarantees of Minority Rights; a Study of the Minorities Procedure in Upper Silesia*, by Julius Stone (1933); *The Struggle for South Africa, 1875-1899; a Study in Economic Imperialism*, by Reginald Ivan Lovell (1934).

³³ Cf. p. 195.

program of studies but has published a number of monographs dealing with recent international problems.³⁴

LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH

At a number of the universities are special councils or committees for the study of the social sciences which are primarily interested in American questions but which also encourage studies, by faculty members or graduate students, in the international field.

The Council for Research in the Social Sciences, of Columbia University, for example, is the principal coordinating agency for the long-term projects directed by members of the Columbia faculty. The Council, which was formed in 1925, took as its first major project in the international field a study of "Economic Internationalism in the Caribbean Area" under the direction of its Committee on Latin America. This work is still in progress, the object being to collect and publish data hitherto unavailable or difficult of access. Other international studies which have been undertaken by the Council in more recent years have dealt with Industrialization in the Far East, Social Research in France, the Legislative Problem and Function of the International Labor Office, Research in International Law, British Policy in Morocco, and Economics and Neutrality. Of the thirty-four projects which were under way at the end of June in 1932, eight were specifically in the international field. In June, 1933, forty-three projects were under way, ten of which had definite international aspects. The finances for these Council researches are provided by means of University appropriations, grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, and miscellaneous gifts.

At the University of Chicago, the work of research in the social sciences is centered in the Social Science Research Committee, which is a comparatively recent outgrowth of the Local Community Research Committee established in 1923 with funds provided by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. The Social Science Research Committee, while concerned chiefly with American problems, has completed

³⁴ The "Publications of the Bureau of International Relations of the University of California" (University of California Press) include: Vol. I, No. 1, *Anglo-Japanese Alliance*, by A. L. P. Dennis (1932); Vol. I, No. 2, *The International Government of the Saar*, by F. M. Russell (1926); Vol. I, No. 3, *Some Aspects of the Recent Foreign Policy of Sweden* (1929); Vol. II, *The International Institute of Agriculture*, by A. Hobson (1931); Vol. III, *Effects of Chinese Nationalism upon Manchurian Railway Development, 1925-1931*, by H. L. Kingman (1932).

or planned certain international studies—dealing with Russia, international relations, the foreign policy of the French Republic, and the development of communism. It has also a special subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Quincy Wright, which has been making an exhaustive investigation of the causes of war. This is intended to cover all the various factors leading to conflict. Sections of this general study, for example, are devoted to the combating of situations among primitive peoples, war recruiting and propaganda, armament policies, the balance of power, consequences of international debtor-creditor relations, the influences shaping opinion about war, the international legal aspects of war, the internal organization of States with respect to war and foreign policy, transfers of territory, problems of nationality, the effects of changes in war technique, etc. These investigations have been carried on for about five years and promise a very important contribution in the understanding of the fundamental elements of war and peace.

Affiliated with the University of Chicago is the Norman Wait Harris Foundation which works in cooperation with the Social Science Research Committee, although the two bodies are independent. The principal function of the Harris Foundation is to arrange the annual meetings at the University of Chicago, at which specialists discuss, in lectures and round table gatherings, particular international relations or foreign-affairs subjects. The papers read at these meetings are published annually.

FOOD AND POPULATION RESEARCH

The work of the Food Research Institute of Stanford University is an example of a different kind of study—one which is concerned, not with international relations as such, but with a major problem of the human race, that of the food supply. The organization developed out of a proposal made by Messrs. Herbert Hoover and Alonzo E. Taylor to the Carnegie Corporation in 1920 that substantial funds be provided for organizing and supporting a Department of Research in Food and Nutrition. The Trustees of the Corporation and Stanford University reached an agreement by which the Carnegie Corporation furnished certain funds and the University provided facilities for the establishment of a research institute to study the problem of the production, distribution and consumption of foodstuffs. In 1931, under the terms of a new agreement, the University formally accepted the undivided responsibility for continuing the work of the Institute, and the

Corporation made a substantial grant to the general endowment of the University.

The Institute, as now organized, is under the supervision of three directors. The original agreement was that one of these three should be an expert in agriculture and food manufacture, one an expert in economics and food distribution, and one in the physiology and chemistry of nutrition. The first three directors, who are still serving, were Carl Alsberg, A.M., M.D., formerly Chief of the Bureau of Chemistry of the United States Department of Agriculture, Joseph S. Davis, Ph.D., formerly of the Department of Economics of Harvard University, and Alonzo E. Taylor, M.D., LL.D., formerly of the University of Pennsylvania. The three directors and certain of the members of the research staff are also members of the faculty of Stanford University, although the Institute is concerned primarily with research and the directors and staff offer few courses of instruction. Their chief teaching function is that of supervising the research work of advanced students in the departments of chemistry and economics, in so far as this work falls within the scope of the Institute.

From the beginning of its work, the policy of the Institute has been to approach the study of food problems primarily through investigations of important groups of commodities. The Institute began its work with the study of wheat and wheat products. In 1924 it started the publication of a series of "Wheat Studies." The annual volumes of these "Studies" include a comprehensive review of the world situation during the preceding crop year, three surveys of current developments, and six special studies. This series, which is the only one of its kind in the world, has become an exceedingly important repository of the records of world-wide developments with regard to wheat and wheat products. When this work was well under way, the directors selected as their next general field of study that of fats and oils, including both animal and vegetable products, and the plan is to develop a "Fats and Oils Series" comparable with the "Wheat Studies." Four books in this field already have been published—studies which indicate how vitally the competition in the trade in these substances is affected by regional and political influences, especially by the colonial policies of various countries.

In addition to the volumes in the "Wheat Series" and "Fats and Oils Series," the directors of the Institute and members of the research staff have published numerous miscellaneous volumes and articles in scientific journals.

At Miami University is also another organization which deals with

the general problem in other than political terms. This is the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems. While the Foundation devotes itself primarily to studies of population in the United States, the director has also made a number of studies of population changes in other parts of the world with particular reference to the effects of these changes on international relations.

INSTITUTES AND CONFERENCES

Another kind of study of international questions takes place in the large and increasing number of meetings for the discussion of public affairs, called "institutes" or "conferences," held primarily under academic auspices. Some thirty such gatherings, dealing entirely or in part with questions of international relations, were scheduled for 1933, and ten or more others, usually meeting biennially, have regular sessions. These institutes or conferences are held in all parts of the country; according to their location they tend to specialize in regional phases of American foreign policy or to study international affairs in neighboring geographical areas; those on the Pacific coast, for instance, are primarily concerned with affairs of the Pacific rim or the Far East, while the international relations discussed at the institutes which have been held at Louisiana State University and at the Universities of Georgia, North Carolina, and Virginia have centered much of their attention on Latin-American affairs.

The Institute of Politics at Williamstown, which held its first session in the summer of 1921, may be said to have been the most cosmopolitan of them all even as it was the pioneer and model for those that followed. The original plan for the Williamstown conference included: round table discussions for specialists in particular fields; general morning lectures, which were intended to summarize for the conference as a whole the general, or more important, findings in the subjects under discussion at the round tables; and evening lectures, often by distinguished foreign visitors, assumed to be of more general interest and, therefore, open to the public. In actual fact, the evening lectures frequently proved to be the most technical, as well as the most scholarly, of the discussions; these lectures were published at the end of the conference because they were distinct contributions to the understanding of special phases of international relations.

In practice the round tables at Williamstown and similar conferences have not fully met their original purpose because few of those attending have been in the mood to attempt serious study outside the meet-

ings. More and more the round table discussions became group meetings to which persons with serious interest in a particular field or aspect of international relations went to glean added information or to get a new point of view from the special guests who were invited to speak. In fact each round table, as well as the institute itself, became a meeting place for the well-informed who wished to become better informed by hearing specialists, publicists, and men of public affairs representing both government and business; it was adult education for the initiated, for those who were already interested, and who enjoyed hearing about matters of public concern. Research, as such, was not the result or the purpose of Williamstown and its counterparts; nor was it ever the practice to formulate or advocate a policy of other than friendly relations between peoples and nations. Advocates of special programs of action were often heard, and speakers and round table leaders were invited to the Institute because of their research contributions in particular fields. It is for that reason that "Institutes and Conferences" are included in this section of the survey entitled: "Organizations concerned with Research in International Relations"; they have been the platform, so to speak, from which specialized knowledge and results of research have been broadcast, not only to the few hundreds assembled, but to the reading public at large, because of the excellent reporting of speeches and discussions through the press. Since 1932, however, the Williamstown Institute of Politics has not met.

Within the last two or three years a new kind of conference has been developed, one perhaps less academic in personnel, partaking more of the nature of general adult education for representatives of a democratic society; one that tends to be more proletarian in character. The Wellesley Summer Institute for Social Progress³⁵ is the conspicuous example of the new conference. It is short in duration—timed for those who have two weeks vacation; in 1933 membership of this particular Conference—from nineteen states and fifty-six vocations—was so balanced that discussion was inevitable and profitable because of the divergent character of their interests. International affairs were discussed in relation to the Roosevelt New Deal. The Rôle of Government in Economic Life is the subject for 1934.

Even though it was an innovation to invite and subsidize representatives of labor to the Wellesley Summer Institute for Social Progress,

³⁵ The Wellesley Summer Institute met for the first time July 1-13, 1933. See *Wellesley Magazine*, August, 1933, for a detailed account.

it was an even greater innovation to create an Institute especially for labor leaders as was done at Haverford College, September 3-9, 1933. This was done by the American Friends Service Committee "to see if the Institute idea, which has proved so successful for teachers and others, could be used to help the leaders and political leaders of the conservative wing of organized labor to become better acquainted with some of the problems involved in establishing world peace." Twelve union members were selected by the Secretary of the Central Labor Union of the Philadelphia Federation of Labor from those nominated by various local unions. Visiting lecturers from abroad were: Muriel Lester, Kingsley House, London; Maurice Webb, Adult Education Association of South Africa; and Walton Newbold, former member of Parliament, England.

More academic in character or personnel, yet belonging distinctly in the field of adult education in international affairs, are the three conferences annually sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.³⁶ In 1932, and again in 1933, at Wellesley College, at Duke University, and at Northwestern University, lecturers from the university world have been invited to put their instruction within the reach of those who would otherwise be unable to profit from contemporary university courses that touch international relations. These three institutes were planned to reach the teachers, the clergy, and the college students who, in turn, will have a share in the formal education of the present and oncoming generation. Yet each group included as well a number of librarians, homemakers, nurses, farmers, business and professional men, peace workers, and club leaders. All the institutes of the American Friends Service Committee, whether for labor leaders or teachers, stress the study of international relations in relation to the promotion of peace.

At the Los Angeles University of International Relations which was chartered in 1924, there is close interrelation of faculty members and courses of study with the University of Southern California, though the International Relations University has its own special course of study leading to the degree of Bachelor of Foreign Service. The University also provides special supervised study courses in foreign lands, arranges for a number of exchanges of visiting professorships, establishes scholarships and fellowships, both for foreign students in the United States and for American students abroad, and in various ways is active in promoting the study of international relations and foreign affairs outside

³⁶ Cf. pp. 123 f.

of as well as within the school itself. Perhaps the best known of its activities is the Institute of World Affairs (formerly the Institute of International Relations) which has been held annually, since 1927, at Mission Inn, Riverside, California. As an extension of the work of the Institute of World Affairs, summer institutes are held biennially in the various academic centers of the Pacific coast to bring to the people of a particular community on a wider scale than is possible at Riverside, the opportunity for discussion and for information which such an institute provides. These institutes so far have enjoyed subventions from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The list of biennial summer sessions is as follows: University of Washington, Seattle, 1928; University of California, Berkeley, 1930; Reed College and the University of Oregon at Portland, Oregon, 1932; Stanford University, California, 1934.⁸⁷

In the summer of 1932 the School of Pacific and Oriental Affairs was established in connection with the summer session of the University of Hawaii, with the aid of a subvention from the Carnegie Corporation. Its purpose is to provide instruction in Pacific affairs generally by bringing scholars from the Orient and from the American mainland to Hawaii, there to join in a summer school of Pacific and Oriental affairs with members of the resident faculty. Dean Charles E. Martin, of the University of Washington, was the director of the session in 1932. This first session stressed political and economic affairs; the session in 1933, under the direction of Dr. Gregg Sinclair, centered attention upon the literature, culture, and art of the Orient; while the plan for 1934, under Dr. Romanzo Adams and Dr. Andrew Lind, is for the study and discussion of race and sociological relations.

Since 1924 institutes have been held at the University of Chicago under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation,⁸⁸ which was given for "the promotion of a better understanding on the part of American citizens of the other peoples of the world, thus establishing a basis for improved international relations and a more enlightened world order." The membership of the meetings under the Harris Foundation differ from those already mentioned; a small body of experts are invited for two weeks each June to meet for discussion with distinguished foreign guests. The subjects dealt with at these institutes

⁸⁷ Policies of these institutes are well described in the *Proceedings of the Seattle Conference, 1928*. Those receiving financial support from the Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for Peace are described from year to year in the *Year Book* of the Endowment.

⁸⁸ Cf. pp. 117, 299.

have included Western European Reconstruction, the Far East, Mexico, the British Empire, Foreign Investments, Population, American Foreign Policy, Unemployment as a World-Problem, Gold and Monetary Stabilization. The Institute of 1933 dealt with the formation of public opinion in world politics.

The example, *par excellence*, of research and conference is in the Institute of Pacific Relations. Specialists and persons of public affairs, carefully selected, assemble biennially in some country that borders upon the Pacific Ocean for the discussion of subjects of vital concern to the countries of that area. The agenda for the meetings, carefully prepared in advance, supplemented by the publication of memoranda and studies, the results of careful research, become the basis for the discussions at the various round tables. The findings of the round tables frequently define the necessity, or the program, for further research in order to obtain the knowledge necessary to mutual understanding of problems of extreme difficulty within any one country or between countries. The technique of the Institute of Pacific Relations is discussed at length in Part Three, Chapter XI, The Pacific Area.³⁹

Institutes employing the conference method in Adult Education are led by persons who are chosen because of their place in the world of research; and in most cases they meet under college and university auspices. The following lists give the names of the institutes, the places of meeting for 1934 and, whenever possible, the subjects chosen for discussion.

INSTITUTES IN THE UNITED STATES DEALING ENTIRELY OR IN PART WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ⁴⁰

List for 1934 ⁴¹

(Arranged alphabetically by name of organization under whose auspices the institute is held)

American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, is responsible for the following institutes:

Mid-West Institute, at the University of Chicago,⁴² June 25-July 4; subject: courses covering various aspects of war-peace problems.

³⁹ Cf. pp. 249-252.

⁴⁰ The spring meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, which meets in Philadelphia, is sometimes classed with institutes. The subject for the meeting, April 13-14, 1934, was: The Trend toward Nationalism.

⁴¹ The List for 1933 is published in Institute of International Education, *News Bulletin*, Vol. VIII, No. 6, pp. 8-9. The 1934 list was furnished by Mr. Edward R. Murrow of the Institute of International Education.

⁴² In 1933 it was held at Northwestern University.

Duke Institute, at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, June 11-23; subject: courses covering various aspects of war-peace problems.

Institute for Labor Leaders, Haverford College, June 11-16.

Institute of Race Relations, at Swarthmore College. No information for 1934.

New England Institute, at Wellesley College, June 25-July 5; subject: courses covering various aspects of war-peace problems.

The American University, School of Public Affairs, Washington, D. C. The Institute for the Study of the Emergency Agencies of the Government, June 25 to August 17.

University of California, International House, Berkeley. This is under the auspices also of the Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies and Committee on Promotion of Japanese Studies, American Council of Learned Societies. Conference on International Relations, in connection with 1934 Summer Session, June 25-August 3; subject: Far East Civilizations.

Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Catholic Association for International Peace, April 2-3. (Eighth Annual Conference.)

University of Denver. Institute of World Affairs, June 18-23; subject: The Crisis in World Affairs.

Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. Institute of Foreign Affairs, May 17-19; subject: Relations of United States with Latin America.

Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia. Institute of Citizenship, February 12-16; subject: The New Deal.

Foreign Affairs Council, in cooperation with Cleveland College, Cleveland, Ohio. Foreign Affairs Institute, March 30-31; subject: The New Deal in the Foreign Policy of the United States.

George Washington University, Washington, D. C. Conference on Hispanic American Affairs, July 2-August 10; Emphasis on Argentina, Brazil, and Chile.

University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. Institute of Public Affairs, May 7-16; subject: The Recovery Program—International and National.

Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa. Third Annual Conference on International Relations, April 6-8; subject: World Affairs.

Institute of International Relations, Dr. H. I. Priestley, Berkeley, Director. Held biennially at various places on Pacific coast during the summer. Meeting due in 1934 but no information received.

Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, T. H. Conferences formerly held bi-annually 1925-1933. Next conference 1936. Place to be announced. Subject: Aims and Results of Economic and Social Policies in Pacific Countries.

Inter-America Foundation, Pomona College, Claremont, California. Annual

- Conference of Friends of the Mexicans, November 17; subject: Mexicans in the United States.
- University of Iowa, Iowa City. Commonwealth Conference held biennially. Meeting due in 1934. No information received.
- Los Angeles University of International Relations. Institute of World Affairs, held at Riverside, California, December 10-15; subject: Current International Affairs.
- University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky. Conference on Public Affairs, March 28-29; subject: International Relations and Economic Planning.
- MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Illinois. Institute of Pan American Relations, February 21-22; subject: The Economics of the New Deal.
- National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, New York City. Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, Washington, D. C. Week of January 21, 1935.
- New Jersey Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, held at Princeton, N. J., April 19; subject: The Challenge of 1934.
- Summer Institute for Social Progress, held at Wellesley College, July 7-21; subject: The Rôle of Government in Economic Life.
- Tulane University of Louisiana, New Orleans. No information for 1934.
- University of Virginia, Charlottesville. Institute of Public Affairs, July 1-14; subject: Current Political, Social and Economic Affairs.
- College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio. The Class of 1932 Institute of International Relations, March 1-2, 1934; subject: South and Central American Relations.

INSTITUTES IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN HELD FORMERLY
BUT NOT HELD IN 1934

(The date of the last meeting is given)

- American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, Institute of International Relations held at Haverford College in 1931.
- University of Chicago, Institute of International Relations of the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, held in summer of 1933.
- University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, Institute of Inter-American Affairs, held in 1933.
- Furman University, Greenville, South Carolina, Institute of Politics, last meeting reported for 1931.
- Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in 1931 held Conference of Social Science Teachers of Louisiana; it may hold similar meeting in 1934 but plans are indefinite.
- University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, Pan American Round Table, held in 1933.
- University of New Hampshire, Durham, Latin-American Relations, held only in 1925.

Princeton University, Princeton Conference on Politics, last reported 1931.
 Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, Institute of Statesmanship, last reported, 1931.

Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas, International Relations Conference, held in 1931 but discontinued for lack of funds.

Williamstown Institute of Politics, Williamstown, Massachusetts, discontinued in 1933.

Yale University, Institute on International Relations, last reported, 1931.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS ⁴³ CONFERENCES HELD IN 1933

Middle Atlantic Conference, George Washington University.

Mid-West Conference, Manchester College, North Manchester, Indiana.

Mississippi Valley Conference, William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri.

New England Conference, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire.

New Mexico-West Texas Conference, New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, State College, New Mexico.

North California-Nevada Conference, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.

Ohio Valley Conference, University of Louisville and the Louisville City Normal School, Louisville, Kentucky.

Pacific Southwest Conference, San Diego State Teachers College, San Diego, California.

Rocky Mountain Conference, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Southeast Conference, Emory University and Agnes Scott College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Southwest Conference, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

The World Council of Youth of the Pacific Coast reports that in 1934 six institutes are being planned for the youth of that area. They are: (1) the Northwest Students' International Conference for Washington, Oregon, British Columbia, at University of Washington; (2) Student Conference on Pacific Relations, at Camp Erdman, Hawaii; (3) the Student Institute of Pacific Relations of Southern California; (4) the Student Institute of Pacific Relations of Northern California; (5) the Junior Council on International Relations of Southern California, and (6) the Leaders Conference.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SCHOOLS

The growing tendency to concentrate the work in the international field under special organizations connected with the universities has found expression also in a somewhat different form in the establish-

⁴³ Cf. pp. 28, 399 f. Twelve similar conferences will be held in 1934 and succeeding years. The twelfth, the Northwest Conference, was held in the spring of 1934 at the College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington.

ment of certain special schools devoted to international relations. One example of this kind of special school is the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University. This school, which was started in 1930, was designed primarily "to create a research laboratory for the study of the motivating causes of the conduct of nations in relation to one another—of those conceptions of material interest, and those less tangible sentimental impulses, on the part of the various peoples and their respective governing groups, which underlie determinations of national policy." A considerable proportion of the studies which have been carried on under the auspices of the school have dealt with Far Eastern subjects. Studies recently published, or in preparation, deal with such subjects as the protection of nationals, the workings of economic nationalism, the Russian debts, American nationalist expansion, and the economic effectiveness of Chinese boycotts.⁴⁴

A second example of this type of special schools affiliated with universities is the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. This was founded February 22, 1930, and during this initial period it has concentrated in large part on instruction in international relations subjects rather than on research. Plans are materializing, however, to enlarge the scope of the work, especially on the research side. The school is the principal agency of the University through which arrangements are made for visits to Princeton of numerous special lecturers in the foreign relations field.

Two schools which are not primarily research organizations but which are bodies affiliated with universities organized primarily to train students for Foreign Service are the School of Foreign Service at

⁴⁴ The exact titles of the "Publications" of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations (The Johns Hopkins Press) are: *The Protection of Nationals: a Study in the Application of International Law*, by Frederick Sherwood Dunn; *A view of Europe, 1932: an Interpretative Essay on Some Workings of Economic Nationalism*, by Paul Van Zeeland; *The Russo-Japanese Treaties of 1907-1916 Concerning Manchuria and Mongolia*, by Ernest B. Price; and *A Study of Chinese Boycotts with Special Reference to Their Economic Effectiveness*, by C. F. Remer.

The Albert Shaw Lectures, which have been given under the auspices of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations since 1899, have also been published by the Johns Hopkins Press. The ten printed before 1921 concern international relations before 1900, while five of the eight printed since 1921 deal with international relations within the twentieth century. These last are: *Latin America and the War*, by Percy Alvin Martin (1925); *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations*, by Henry Merritt Wriston (1929); *State Security and the League of Nations*, by Bruce Williams; *The Purchase of the Danish West Indies*, by Charles Callan Tansill (1932); and *American Diplomacy during the World War*, by Charles Seymour (1933).

Georgetown University at Washington, and the School of Government at The George Washington University.

The George Washington University was one of the first institutions to include organized study of international relations in its curricula. In 1898, there was established the School of Comparative Jurisprudence and Diplomacy. The special purpose of the School was to fit men "for the practice of international law and for positions in the public, diplomatic and consular service." After several reorganizations, in the year 1913 the College of the Political Science was reordered as a department under Columbian College where it was carried in the University until the year 1928, the work being divided in the Departments of Political Science, Economics, History, and Law. Owing to the special demands made upon the institution, it was thought best in 1928 to bring the curricula for the teaching of international law, as well as for other governmental studies, under a School of Government. At this particular time the University had a gift of one million dollars from the Southern Jurisdiction of the Scottish Rite, which, together with other gifts, has permitted an expansion of the work of the School. There is also now being raised a fund of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars by the National League of Masonic Clubs to endow two chairs in foreign service techniques and procedures and until this fund is raised, the League is paying the University an annual sum to maintain this work.

In passing it is interesting to know that the number of men in the Foreign Service of the United States who have attended The George Washington University is exceeded only by the number who have attended Harvard University.

The School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University was started with a special Graduate Department, and the courses offered cover not simply the subjects which come within the diplomatic field, but also subjects of value to those who plan to go into the Foreign departments of business firms, the merchant marine, and other non-governmental agencies. The work of the School is designed to fit men for Foreign service, in the larger sense—"the profession which proposes as its objective the promotion and protection of a nation's overseas interests arising from normal international relations. . . ."

The Parker School of International Affairs,⁴⁵ which is to be attached to Columbia University, probably in connection with the School of Law, at present awaits further arrangement of its funds according to

⁴⁵ This is merely a descriptive term, no name has been officially announced.

the terms of the bequest of the late Judge Edwin B. Parker. The projected Parker School is designed not for research but for teaching; it is planned not for dissemination of information about international affairs, but for the education of those who expect to go abroad in a business or other capacity, to make them aware of the legal systems and of the social character of the peoples in the countries of their sojourn and business or professional activity.

Outstanding among these institutions is the newly established Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts College, which began work in the autumn of 1933. It provides for postgraduate instruction in "public and international law, diplomacy and international relations, and international economics." This school is organized and administered jointly by Tufts College and Harvard University, and the instruction is furnished by members of the staffs of both institutions. The students will have at their service all the library facilities, not only of Harvard and Tufts, but of the World Peace Foundation, which has deposited its library, the Edwin Ginn Library, at the School. The purpose of the school is to prepare "a limited number of qualified students for the specialized and exacting professions of international law, the diplomatic and consular services, foreign business and finance, historical and economic research, and the teaching of these various branches."

CHAPTER IV

BUSINESS AND FINANCIAL RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

GENERAL CHARACTER AND ENVIRONMENT

AN adequate conception of the rôle of business in the ramifications of our international relations can be fully appreciated only when one keeps in mind the nature of a business institution and when one studies the social activities in which business men engage. A business institution itself is a collection of the factors of production or distribution or both brought together for the purpose of profit. The majority of our industrial and commercial leaders feel that they have not laid down "the rules of the game," and that it is the prescriptive nature of these rules which forces them into line; they are participating in a battle in which little quarter is shown unless they conform to the standard. Their social welfare proclivities—often very strong—even their interest in the economic and political phases of international relations, frequently find expression outside of their business institutions.

Many business men take the short-run view of their international relationships. The average manufacturer has never even stopped to inquire whether his factory is an economic misfit where located within the United States; nor has it occurred to him to question whether it is an economic misfit in the world scheme of affairs. The pressure of immediate problems overshadows a long-run vision. Nevertheless, American business leaders give evidence of being sincerely anxious to possess more accurate knowledge of the factors which condition their associations both within and without our borders; indeed the support given to the various research organizations mentioned throughout this survey is direct evidence of the willingness of "the business men" to do their part.

The amount of attention devoted to the serious study of the international factors which affect our domestic economic relations, and the amount of time and attention devoted to the serious study of domestic factors which affect international economic relationships varies greatly from time to time and from company to company. Some firms make careful studies of the quality and of the sources, actual and potential,

of their raw materials. They also consider economic and political circumstances which affect both their market and American interests in general. Other firms, those whose attitude approaches that of the petty trader interested only in matters of the moment, utterly disregard basic factors of the aforementioned type. The intense struggle of the present epoch, however, finds the business man with little time in which to "carry water on both shoulders." Some of our "captains of industry" have been advised to forget their public international activities in behalf of American economic interests in general so that, for the time being, they can devote their energies to the immediate affairs of their own particular businesses.

One result of the present-day emphasis upon economy has been the elimination of many of the so-called research departments by financial institutions, by trade associations, and by private corporations. Often this curtailment has been unfortunate, but in some instances worthless, or merely duplicated, activity has been dispensed with. Yet, even though research department budgets have been severely pruned, it is possible to say that research itself has not suffered severely, for, during the depression business leaders themselves have taken time to think about world economic relationships as well as about the possibilities and accomplishments of the technical and economic research activities carried on by their own corporations.

Taking a long view of the situation, there hardly seems to be need for pessimism. Upon the ruins of the old, and occasionally ill-founded, research department of the immediate post-War period, there is likely to arise a new type of activity, an activity far better adapted to our present order. American business men are in the process of revising their economic thinking—they are "taking stock" and they are making inventories of their general situation. They are learning that foreign commerce, like domestic commerce, requires careful attention and highly specialized cultivation, if it is to thrive.

The psychology of the twenties prevented general appreciation of the two-way nature of international commerce. The promotion of the sale of American products abroad was regarded as something highly commendable. Imports were at best a necessary evil and were to be dispensed with as far as possible. When the avalanche of tariffs, embargoes, exchange restrictions, and debt defaults struck American economic interests, then the practical meaning and importance of two-way traffic in international trade began to be really comprehended. If a country would export, it must import. Business men began to discuss our com-

mercial policy in general and to appreciate "the theory" that economists had been telling them about for many years. It is not the function of the writer to go into details as to the movements for tariff revision, for economic nationalism, for autarchy or for reciprocal tariffs, rather he points to these as evidence of the serious economic thinking and planning which is now characterizing the activities of American business.

Instead of attempting the Herculean task of running the whole gamut of American business the writer has selected some representative business institutions and associations in order to indicate the nature and character of the "study-activities" now being undertaken. At the same time he wishes to point out that similar activities of less known firms are often of great importance. The efforts of a small importing house which is trying to find a new use for some raw material that has lost its market in the United States, the personal relations maintained abroad by the exporter of a relatively unknown American product, and the unheralded discoveries and inventions which are constantly occurring in our "one-room laboratories" have, in their aggregate effect, an influence which must not be underrated.

Moreover, it should be pointed out that the close connection between technical research and international relations is frequently overlooked. The development of Duco, for example, precipitated a revolutionary change in the policy of our automobile manufacturers, who were confronted with the necessity of establishing branch factories abroad. The erection of assembling plants had been seriously hampered by the abnormally heavy investments which the installation of the old baking process involved. The amount of money which would have been tied up in both plant and "goods in process" under the old system was prohibitive for a production ranging between two and ten thousand units annually. When quick-drying Duco superseded slow-drying finishes, our automobile manufacturers found that factories of the aforementioned capacity could be profitably operated in foreign lands, for automobile bodies could be shipped in sheet metal form for "ducoing" on the spot, thus eliminating large freight bills. The consequence was an important change in international economic relations. In passing it should be said that this case is not a phenomenal one; it is merely representative of a class of changes. Our modern era has witnessed many readjustments in international economic relations which are the result of technical research.

Attention should also be drawn to the legal and economic problems

involved when new inventions appear. If the American owner of a patent wishes to protect himself from foreign competition he must not merely take out patents in all of the important industrial countries of the world. While in certain countries manufacturing or working under a patent is specifically required, in others it has been found desirable to effect what is known as a "nominal working" to put a patent owner in a position to enforce his rights under the patent. A nominal working amounts to nothing more than periodically submitting the invention to a number of leading manufacturing concerns of the country, and advertising the patents for sale or license, the purpose being to show that there is no demand for the patented invention in the respective countries, and that the manufacture thereof would be useless or impose an undue burden upon the patentee. The submission in each case must be *bona fide*, however, and sometimes leads to actual sale or license of the invention by placing the patentee in touch with persons interested in producing the invention. While nominal workings are merely unofficial precautions and cannot be entirely relied upon in every case to avoid revocation of a patent and the granting of a compulsory license thereunder, they have been found to be of practical value.

The manner in which corporations exchange patents on an international scale is evidenced by the ten-year contract entered into by the Brunswick-Balke-Collender Company and the German Polyphonwerke A. G. for the use of both patents and materials. Another example of agreements involving the exchange of technical information and patents is to be found in the operations of the General Electric Company. "Such contracts grant to the respective foreign company the use of General Electric patents and designing and manufacturing experience for a specific territory, in exchange for a similar grant by the foreign company to the General Electric Company."¹ Other well-known American companies which have made use of agreements, strengthened by patents or processes, as a means of entering foreign fields are the Westinghouse Electric Company, the Miller Rubber Company and the Du Pont de Nemours Company.

Since the War the United States, like a small number of other nations, has turned its attention to "exporting" technology. The migration of American industry into various parts of the world has forced the "parent corporation" to make studies of the fields of operations. Many, like the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, found that they could

¹ Senate Document No. 46, 70th Congress, 1st Session, 1928—quoted by Frank A. Southard, Jr., in *American Industry in Europe*, p. 9.

not compete without supplementary factories on the spot. Among the reasons for this migration of American industry and the "export" of technology are cost factors, which include tariff barriers, transportation expenses, lower wages, and taxation difficulties. Then, too, there are the service factors, such as prompt deliveries, the necessity of following up business already secured, the catering to peculiarities of national markets. Again, there is an advantage obtained frequently in the exploitation of patents and processes. Although this enumeration does not exhaust the reasons for migrations it does indicate a goodly number of the factors which our companies should study before producing outside of the United States.

Not all of the "export" of technology has occurred through the erection of branch factories abroad. It frequently takes place because of the initiative of individuals or because of the invitation of governments. Our scientists, economists and engineers have gone into a very large number of countries and have developed railways, industries, and laboratories with the aid of American scientific methods and patented processes. They have revolutionized advertising and marketing methods as well. Sometimes general economic surveys have been conducted. A recent example of this type of study was the investigation of Anatolia's agricultural, mineral, and economic position by a group of specialists headed by Mr. Walker D. Hines, former United States Railroad Administrator. The story of concessions in the Soviet Union and in other parts of the world is too long and involved to be discussed in this survey.

Business firms are always on the alert to take advantage of inventions and improvements in the field of technical research. The development of stainless steel, rayon, synthetic indigo and camphor, artificial nitrates, and new dyes have changed world economic relationships to an extent incomprehensible to the person not intimately connected with both the old and the new products. Hardly had the Bergius process of hydrogenation become known, when the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey secured patent rights for this invention in the United States. This process enables coal to be converted into oil and makes it possible for countries with coal reserves to become independent of foreign oil supplies. The new motor oil made by the hydrogenation process has taken the place of many other brands of oil previously sold in the United States. Hydrogenated products of various kinds have actually been turned out since 1927 in the experimental plants of the Standard Oil Company at Baton Rouge, La., and at Bayway, N. J. When necessity arises, the new process will take the world supply of coal, lignite,

and the almost unlimited reserves of shale and convert them into petroleum and its products.

Changes in the character of business research occur frequently. In 1928, the major emphasis was upon the lowering of production costs. A few years later it was upon the development of new products and upon the increased production of existing products. In the economic field there occurred a shift of emphasis from the problems of marketing and the financing of exports to an endeavor to find ways and means of salvaging hasty commitments of capital and to the study of exchange problems and of depreciated currencies.

Economic and scientific industrial research are, of course, interdependent and supplementary. Sometimes a keener interest is shown in market research, at other times in technical research. Foreign competition is a great stimulus to both types of study. The significant fact is that American business must meet this competition, and hence it must keep abreast of world-wide economic and scientific changes. Thus, it may be said that well-conducted and wisely used research is not merely a profitable investment, but that it is an activity which is frequently necessary for continued success.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS

THE INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE

Recognizing that intelligent investment in foreign securities must be based upon an analysis of the economic, legal, and political factors involved, the Foreign Securities Committee of the Investment Bankers Association of America, in 1926, joined with New York University in the establishment of the Institute of International Finance. The Institute, still conducted by its founders, now has the cooperation of the Committee on Inter-American Relations, which is composed of the representatives of the leading American manufacturers, power and light, and transportation companies with Latin-American interests. The governing council of the Institute includes business men, commercial bankers, international lawyers, as well as investment bankers. Membership is open to anyone interested; and its bulletins, non-technical in character, are designed for the average reader. In addition to the regular bulletins, analyzing the credit position of individual countries, there are special bulletins on topics of timely interest. The Institute also makes replies to specific inquiries and it maintains correspondence with similar bodies

throughout the world. The immediate undertaking of the Institute is the dissemination, to the investing public, of information regarding countries in default, and others where their credit is in question. One of the most recent 1934 publications is a survey of the status of American bonds in default, which are the obligations of Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, Greece, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. This survey recounts the political and financial changes affecting these bonds which have occurred since previous bulletins were issued in 1932 and 1933.

FOREIGN BONDHOLDERS PROTECTIVE COUNCILS

One of the major problems confronting our financial experts today is the difficulty of dealing with the great volume of foreign bonds which are in default. Unless this situation is handled in an orderly way, our relations with many of the foreign nations involved may be seriously disturbed. Friction has already arisen between Americans and the nationals of other creditor nations in dealing with the obligations of common debtors. This is due, in part at least, to the lack of an authoritative central bondholders association in the United States.

During the past few years two types of organizations were formed with the purpose of caring for the interests of holders of defaulted bonds. There are a number of "bankers' committees" and a number of "independent committees." Because the foreign bonds sold to Americans have been distributed over the entire country and because the holdings of most issues are said to average only three bonds per person, it is indeed difficult for the bondholders themselves to take the initiative and form their own central bondholders association.

The Securities Act of 1933 took cognizance of this situation, and through articles 201-210 of this act, provisions were here made for a corporation of foreign bondholders. With the aim of aiding our distressed bondholders, the Roosevelt Administration took the initiative in bringing into existence what is intended to be an adequate, effective, and disinterested organization to carry on the work of properly protecting American interests. The Administration also hopes to unify, as far as possible, all American groups that seek to act in protection of American interests. Without in any way preventing the use of the Securities Act, if future needs should prove necessary, to date the Administration apparently has felt that a semipublic body was more desirable than a public one.

Briefly then, the Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc., was

incorporated in the State of Maryland in December 1933, through the efforts of the Secretary of the Treasury and of the Federal Reserve Board, working in cooperation with a number of public-spirited citizens, as well as with interested parties. The headquarters of the Council are in New York City. Financial support has been obtained through private subscriptions, including donations from banking houses which originally sponsored foreign bond issues marketed in the United States. Efforts are also being directed toward securing aid from exporters and importers who would like to see the undertaking made a success, and even from some of the smaller banks with foreign interests at stake.

The preliminary plans of the Council call for the eventual establishment of subcommittees to handle individual foreign default situations along the lines of the methods employed by the British Council of Foreign Bondholders. Existing committees, already formed under other auspices, will be recognized, but the Council reserves the right to appoint its own committees, if it feels that such action is necessary.

A new four-year plan for servicing Brazilian dollar bonds has already been made through the efforts of the Council, which was also active in the negotiations with Germany when that country was trying to further reduce the service on her external bonds. It is believed that the Council, by preserving a disinterested attitude in favor of all American-held obligations alike, will be able to treat with foreign governments more successfully than would be possible for numerous private committees, each organized to look out for one particular issue only.

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK

The Federal Reserve Bank of New York is engaged in many activities having international aspects. Officials of the Bank frequently go abroad to attend conferences. Particularly helpful in all international matters is the Foreign Information Division of the Federal Reserve Bank. This Division's purpose is to compile, maintain, and interpret such statistical and other data on foreign countries as will aid the directors and officers of the Bank in shaping credit policy and in conducting the foreign business of the Bank. Its main concern is to watch and report upon events which are likely to influence the credit situation in the United States or our financial relations abroad. In its studies of the foreign situation, it takes the central bank of each country as its point of departure and works from the central bank to the money market and to the capital market. The balance of payments of each country is

studied and finally the work of this Division gets back to the domestic factors which determine, in general, the credit and capital position of each country. Apart from specifically national phenomena, special studies are undertaken covering gold movements, foreign capital issues, the movement of short-term funds, central bank legislation—theory and practice, currency stabilization, comparative money rates, and money market practice. A broad variety of statistical service is also maintained by the Foreign Information Division.

COMMERCIAL BANKS

During the period following the World War, commercial banks throughout the country began to take an unusual interest in foreign trade and foreign securities. It became popular to organize special departments to make studies of international problems as well as to render assistance to clients making new connections. Various names were given to these departments, and, just as the names varied, so the quality and quantity of the research varied greatly. Not infrequently needless duplication of already existing governmental and private activities and services took place. Much useless information was collected in the "golden era," when not a few statisticians and economists thought that we had learned how to control our economy. Unfortunately, many of those engaged in this "research" did not know how to use statistics. Sometimes curves were projected in a very thoughtless fashion.

Since the advent of the depression, research and information departments of commercial banks have felt the effect of retrenchment policies. The volume of research work has diminished greatly in quantity, but the quality of the economic research has doubtless improved. The big New York banks, as well as a few others, have been making definite contributions to an intelligent study of international relations.

The Statistical Department of the National City Bank, under the direction of Mr. George E. Roberts, has as its primary purpose the study of fundamental trends in particular industries so that the officers of the bank may know the direction of industry, to the end that an intelligent and safe credit policy may be pursued. Included in the work of this Department is the study of such international commodities as coffee, tin, rubber, and silk. Cognizance is also taken of political and economic developments abroad. Heavy commitments in Cuba have prompted careful study of the sugar situation throughout the world. The German complex is likewise watched with unusual interest, due to the immense American stake in the Reich. The National City Bank has

an agency in Germany from which it receives reports, not only on the status of particular credits, but also on the general economic situation. Especial attention is directed to the balance of international payments of Germany.

This same type of "special problem" information is collected for other parts of the world, although special effort is made to avoid duplicating the activities of governmental, statistical, and economic organizations. Personal confidential reports of members of the staff of the bank who are located abroad are extremely important in questions of policy, in fact they are often more important than the economic data which is submitted by them to the headquarters of the bank in New York. The National City Bank issues a monthly bulletin covering such diverse subjects as economic conditions at home and abroad, new developments in governmental finance, and movements of United States securities. Special problems of international economic relations, such as the British Equalization Fund, and China and the Silver Problem, are likewise given consideration in the bulletin. Before any new branches of the Bank are established abroad or before any branches are withdrawn, an intensive survey of the complete economic and political situation is made.

The Chase National Bank, the largest of our commercial banks, does not center its research work in one department but has research work conducted in various departments. International transactions are the central activity of the staff of the foreign department. The Economics Department, headed by Dr. Benjamin M. Anderson, Jr., endeavors to act as a clearing house of information for the entire bank. It also compiles some statistical data, and is often called upon to report on economic conditions in particular countries. The Economics Department also has the function of serving customers of the bank who are seeking information as to the conditions of imported commodities, for example, rice in the Far East or rubber in Malaya. Like the Statistical Department of the National City Bank, the Economics Department of the Chase National Bank does not compile data regularly, rather it considers specific problems as they arise and uses materials already gathered by other departments of the Bank, by the various governmental departments, and by statistical bureaus. Finally, attention should be called to the monographic studies which appear at irregular intervals in pamphlet form and are written by Dr. B. M. Anderson, Jr.

The lack of space prevents the description of the research activities of other banks, such as the Guaranty Trust Company of New York,

and its *Guaranty Survey*, a monthly publication which has sections devoted to general conditions abroad. Dr. H. A. E. Chandler is the economist of the Guaranty Trust Company.

SOURCES OF FOREIGN CREDIT INFORMATION

The American credit manager who finds himself faced with the problem of extending credits abroad has sources of information both domestic and foreign. A few may be mentioned to indicate their importance to business men with foreign trade interests. Dun & Bradstreet, Inc., a mercantile agency in the United States which has branches or affiliations in practically every country in the world, is prepared to supply credit reports on foreign merchants throughout the world. The National Credit Office, with headquarters in New York, specializes in the textile, leather, and automotive trades, and obtains information through domestic sources and correspondents abroad. The Commercial Museum of Philadelphia has a foreign trade bureau containing a large file of foreign credit reports; the bureau also has a large number of connections in foreign countries. The Credit and Audit Company of America, whose headquarters are in New York City, has a foreign department which specializes in detailed and confidential reports on firms all over the world. The American Clothing and Furnishings Credit Bureau, Inc., of New York City furnishes credit reports on dealers in clothing and haberdashery in Canada, Mexico, and the West Indies. The Retail Credit Company of Atlanta, Georgia, likewise has facilities for reporting on individuals and firms throughout the world.

There are a number of cooperative organizations, a list of which includes such bodies as the Foreign Credit Interchange Bureau of the National Association of Credit Men, the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Manufacturers Export Association, the American-Foreign Credit Underwriters, Inc., the Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association. All of these have offices in New York City.

In addition to the aforementioned organizations there are credit-service departments maintained by the publishers of *Importers Guide*, *The American Exporter*, and the *Business Publishers International Corporation*—all published in New York—and by *La hacienda*—published in Buffalo.

American banks maintaining foreign departments have accumulated credit information files which vary in volume and scope. As a rule, these banks accommodate their clients with such data and in case of neces-

sity obtain additional data from their correspondent banks. Several of the larger American banks, for example, the National City Bank, the First National Bank of Boston, the Guaranty Trust Co., have branches in foreign countries and are in a position to render efficient services. Lastly, there are a number of offices of foreign banks in the United States from which data on foreign business men may be obtained.

FINANCIAL INFORMATION SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

The STANDARD STATISTICS COMPANY, INC., was organized in 1908 "to distribute investment information to reinforce the efforts of investment houses and investors by a conscientious endeavor to furnish statistics, literature and reports on every financial subject of general interest." All international studies of this organization are *ad hoc* in character and are made with the aim of determining whether the investor should "buy, hold or sell" a given foreign security. Pursuant to this policy Standard Statistics has established intimate connections with correspondents in England and France. In addition to the aforementioned, and equally valuable, are the cordial relations that the economists of the Standard Statistics maintain with business men, bankers and statesmen in all parts of the world where Americans have financial interests. It is impossible to describe the various services in more detail than to say that the "advisory service" is limited to the major countries from which adequate and up-to-date information is obtainable, and that the "factual information service" covers virtually the entire world. Among the sources of information utilized in studies of foreign situations are foreign newspapers and economic publications from all parts of the world, central bank and other bank reviews from the major financial centers, government reports of the United States and of other nations, financial statements of the most important corporations throughout the world, confidential reports, and personal contacts with bankers, government officials, and foreign diplomats. Standard Statistics endeavors, through the collation, comparison, and critical analysis of the reports obtained, particularly of the corporations and public utilities, to obtain a more intimate picture of economic conditions within a given country, than can be had from the official or unofficial material alone.

The work of *Moody's Investors Service* is divided into two broad fields, statistical and advisory. Activities in the first field comprise the collection, compilation, and publication of data pertinent to investment, while in the second, this great volume of current statistical information

is digested, subjected to expert analysis, and translated into definite investment advice. The backbone of the statistical service consists of five volumes, published yearly, covering the industrial, public utility, railroad, banking and finance, and governmental (both foreign and domestic) investment fields. Basic views are governed largely by this organization's Economic Department, which establishes the general position on market trends. One source of Moody's information on foreign securities is the foreign investment services with which reciprocal arrangements have been made. The data of all available foreign sources is likewise utilized. In addition to these, mention should also be made of the publications of banks and reports of corporate entities, and the materials obtainable from the Economic and Financial Section of the League of Nations. The mass of foreign materials ranges from newspapers to annual reports of central banks of issue. All of the data and reports are regularly digested, with a view to establishing relative investment values of the many foreign securities held by American nationals.

FOREIGN TRADE PROMOTION AGENCIES

CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

According to the November, 1933, figures there are ninety-five AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE, located in thirty-five different states, which maintain foreign trade bureaus or render foreign trade services. It is through these departments that the collective opinion of business men of the various individual business centers is mobilized when questions of national commercial policy arise. These departments often maintain libraries for reference purposes, and in some cities they have encouraged foreign trade education, even going so far as to render financial assistance. Public lectures on foreign trade subjects are from time to time arranged in various centers.

The foreign trade work of a local chamber of commerce may be divided into two main classes: the consideration of broader matters of policy, and direct service to members. Among matters of policy are included questions that are not merely local, but also national and international in scope. The service work undertaken to promote international trade has generally consisted of two steps: (1) a survey of the local foreign trade situation for the purpose of ascertaining definite economic information as to the possibilities of trade; (2) a program of getting interested members acquainted with the publications and services of our government, of private organizations, and with those of the cham-

ber of commerce foreign department itself. Up to the present time the nature of most of the services of local chambers of commerce has been toward increasing the volume of exports. Comparatively little aid has been rendered importers, although there have been some exceptions, particularly in connection with problems of import duties.

While the major activities of local chambers are domestic rather than international, and while the same may be said to be true of the CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, it should not be inferred that international relations are neglected, nor that serious attention is not given to the foreign economic problems of members of these bodies. The Foreign Commerce Department of the national Chamber is very active. Many matters having a connection with foreign trade come before the Chamber during the course of a year. When such matters are of national importance, they are referred to the Foreign Department for study. Subsequently the Foreign Commerce Committee—composed of men prominently associated with export and import trade, and representing both a variety of lines of business as well as various sections of the country—considers the problem. If the Committee deems the matter of sufficient importance to formulate a definite expression of opinion in the name of the Committee, such expression is transmitted to the board of directors of the Chamber. As all problems considered by the Chamber must be “national in character, timely in importance, and general in application to business and industry,” it happens that international matters, when deemed to fall within this category, are eligible for consideration by the Chamber’s membership in annual or special meeting, or by referendum. Among the international questions which have been considered by referenda of the national Chamber are such subjects as merchant marine policies, principles of tariff legislation, governmental debts due the United States, etc. Resolutions in annual meeting have included such subjects as international double taxation, the Inter-American Highway, unfair competition from abroad, and many others too numerous to mention.

The service activities of the Foreign Department of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States include the publication of many brochures and “Trade Opportunity” bulletins. Another duty is to aid foreigners who visit our shores in search of business connections. The Department also maintains relations with the foreign embassies, legations, and consulates in the United States, working reciprocally with those offices in the consideration of foreign trade problems. As specific examples of the publications designed to inform the membership of the

Chamber on matters having international ramifications, the following are cited: *An Outline of Accomplishments of the World Monetary and Economic Conference of 1933*; two bulletins summarizing the results of the Ottawa Conference; an illuminating and informative report on *Reciprocal Tariff Negotiations and Types of Bargaining*.

TWO TYPES OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE exist throughout the world. Sometimes these are called the FRENCH TYPE and the ENGLISH TYPE. The classification is based upon differences in organization and in the relation of the chamber to the government. Membership may be free, as in the English or the American type, or it may be limited by law or by regulation originating within the organization itself, as in the French type.

A French chamber of commerce is an officially recognized representative body of the business community. Membership is not open to the general public, but is confined to those who have been in business "on their own" for at least five years, or to those who have served for a like period as president of a company. The number of members is likewise limited. Failure to attend meetings for a period of six months means suspension. It is not to be understood that the aforementioned details hold true in each and every instance, but that they may be taken as representative. In consequence of its official position, the French type of chamber of commerce is entrusted with many duties and functions which in England and in the United States are placed in the hands of strictly governmental agencies. French law defines the duties of chambers. These consist primarily of assisting the government with advice, criticism, and suggestion in matters concerning trade, commerce, and navigation. The Minister of Commerce also has supervisory powers over these organizations. Chambers of the French type are to be found in Spain, Holland, Italy, Bulgaria, Japan, Brazil, and many other countries.

The English type is a free association of business men which only rarely receives official recognition and is not charged with an official function. It is financed by voluntary contributions from members, usually based upon a fixed membership fee. This type of organization is found in Belgium, Switzerland, and Sweden. Occasionally, as in Denmark, both types are to be found.

The INTERNATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE has attempted to embody within itself the ideals of international commercial cooperation.

The American Section of this international body, representing nearly fifty countries, has its headquarters in the National Chamber Building

in Washington, D. C. Some one hundred trade and commercial organizations in the United States, including the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, are members of the International Chamber. The purposes of the International Chamber, which was created in the year 1920 at Washington, D. C., as the successor to the International Congress of Commerce and Industrial and Commercial Organizations, are "to develop international trade, to suppress those barriers which hamper commercial exchanges, to strengthen the bonds which link the various nations together, to counteract the causes of economic conflict, and thereby contribute to the maintenance of peace."

Membership in the International Chamber is divided into two classes. There are (1) organization members, which consist of such financial, commercial, and industrial associations of a cooperative character, which operate solely for the benefit of their membership, and not for profit, including chambers of commerce and other associations, which have the right to vote; and (2) the associate membership, which has no right to vote, and is made up of either particular business organizations which operate for profit, or noted men in business throughout the world. In each country these two groups make up the national representation.

The American Section of the International Chamber is represented at the Paris international headquarters by an Administrative Commissioner. Congresses of the International Chamber meet every two years in various parts of the world. Among important matters on which progress has been made by the International Chamber through committee consideration and by action at its Congresses are: arbitration of international commercial disputes; protection of industrial property; international double taxation; definition of trade terms; improvement in passport and visa regulations; uniformity in letters of credit and negotiable instruments; and commercial treaty policy.

At the present time there are thirty-nine AMERICAN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE ABROAD; they are located in nineteen different foreign countries. These bodies urge all American firms having representatives in these foreign countries to join, and they request that active aid be given by participation in committee work. These chambers also feel that they are natural and valuable sources from which to obtain knowledge of conditions abroad and from which to secure effective assistance for the development of American business. In a general way the functions of these outposts of our economic activity may be classified under three heads: (1) The furtherance of friendly commercial relations between the United States and the foreign country in which the chamber is

located; (2) The protection of American interests in the foreign market; and (3) The rendering of individual service to members of the chamber. To the foregoing, the American Chamber of Commerce in London and most of the American chambers located abroad would add that it is likewise their purpose to promote trade in both directions. They desire to function as *liaison* offices between business men in the United States and in those of the land where the chambers are located.²

FOREIGN CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE located in the United States, which in 1933 totaled thirty-five organizations and which represented twenty-two countries, are not always the counterparts of American chambers of commerce located abroad. Foreign chambers in the United States vary considerably, not only with respect to the type of membership, but also with respect to their actual participation in international trade. The general impression is that the ten Italian chambers of commerce, which are contained in the above enumeration, are more concerned with the promotion of trade among the members than with the promotion of export and import business between Italy and the United States. With few exceptions, the membership in a Foreign Chamber consists of nationals of a particular foreign country resident in the United States, and of Americans interested in the trade of that country. Home authorities encourage the formation of chambers by their nationals abroad and, in not a few cases, grant financial assistance. There is often a close connection existing between these "outposts" in the United States and sister organizations located abroad. Noteworthy is the cooperation between the Netherlands Chamber of Commerce in New York, Inc., and the Netherlands American Chamber of Commerce in Amsterdam. The relations between the American Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the U. S., Inc., located in New York City, are likewise very intimate and cordial with the Polish-American Chamber of Commerce in Warsaw. Each uses the other for the exchange of commercial data, credit information, and similar services.³

An organization, known as the ASSOCIATION OF SECRETARIES OF CHAMBERS OF FOREIGN COMMERCE IN THE U. S. A., INCORPORATED,⁴ WAS

² A complete list of American Chambers of Commerce abroad is available at the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, D. C.

³ A complete list of Foreign Chambers of Commerce in the United States is available at the headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in Washington, D. C.

⁴ A list of the fourteen secretaries that make up this association is available at the office of the Secretary-Treasurer at 151 East 67th Street, New York City.

launched a few years ago for the purpose of stressing legitimate commercial, as distinguished from political, activities. The secretaries of the more important and more specifically commercial chambers wanted to disassociate themselves from the "wholly or partially propaganda" organizations.

TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Before entering into a discussion of the work of domestic trade associations and of foreign trade associations it seems advisable to say a few words about two other groups of associations: (1) those which fall into the general category of chambers of commerce, although they do not bear that name; (2) those which bear the title "chamber of commerce" but which in reality are trade associations covering their industry.

The first group includes such bodies as the New Orleans Association of Commerce, the Chicago Association of Commerce, the Merchants' Association of New York and the New York Board of Trade. A brief explanation of the Merchants' Association of New York will suffice to clarify the situation. This organization was incorporated in the year 1897 to conduct all the functions of a general chamber of commerce. Its widely representative membership is served by eight departments, among which is the Foreign Trade Bureau. Besides many special activities, the routine service work of this Bureau includes the distribution of information on foreign trade opportunities in response to specific requests for lists of names of American houses engaged in special lines of business. The Bureau maintains a service for distributing information concerning changes in customs and consular regulations to shippers who have asked for this information. It is also helpful in settling disputes between American and foreign business houses. Since its establishment, the Bureau has given as careful service to importers as to exporters, a point of view which is of interest in connection with the recently awakened realization on the part of many other organizations that in order for the United States to sell abroad it must also buy abroad.

Organizations falling into the second of the above-mentioned categories, such as the Motion Picture Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., the Music Industries Chamber of Commerce, the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, and the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., although carrying the words "chamber of commerce" in their titles, function as national trade associations covering their particular industry.

The National Automobile Chamber has been particularly active in the campaigns for more liberal tariff policies, for reduced taxes on automobiles, and, lastly, for improved highway transportation facilities. Its activities along these lines are not confined to the United States but extend to many parts of the world. The Automobile Chamber, in opposing high tariffs, attempts to familiarize people with the utility feature of the automobile. Trained men have been sent to many countries to give illustrated lectures on the relation of transportation to the general well-being of society. Then too, the National Automobile Chamber was the original underwriter of the First Pan American Highway Conference, held in 1924. Although not sponsoring the International Road Congress of 1930, which took place in Washington, D. C., the Chamber joined with other interested bodies from allied industries in arranging for inspection tours of various parts of our country. These tours took place after the Congress. The Automobile Chamber has published educational literature on automotive fundamentals in four languages, and it is responsible for the beginnings of *The Automotive Foreign Trade Manual* now published by the Department of Commerce. The very complete library of the Chamber, located at its headquarters in New York City, is a valuable source of information for current and past publications concerning the automobile, its history, development and use, in all parts of the world.

The Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., while not engaged in extensive research into international economics affecting its industry, does accomplish some work in the international field. When the question of ratifying the Warsaw Convention of 1929 arose in the United States, the Chamber made a thorough study of the situation and recommended to the State Department and to the Aeronautics Branch of the Department of Commerce that the Convention should be ratified. It accompanied its decision with factual evidence. Another activity in the international field is the publication of special monographs, for example, *A Report on the Canadian Tariff on Aviation Products*. Still another illustration of the Chamber's work is to be found in the regular function of following up opportunities for the sale of American aviation equipment abroad. From time to time a bulletin detailing such trade opportunities is published.

The INTERNATIONAL APPLE ASSOCIATION, a voluntary unincorporated trade association organized in 1895, is an interesting type of organization conducting both national and international research and study activities. The membership of this body is composed of the leading

apple and pear shippers, apple and pear cooperative associations, individual commercial orchardists and wholesalers, jobbers, distributors, export firms, and some cold storage houses. The membership is located, not merely in all of the chief producing sections and distributing markets of the United States and Canada, but it also extends to twenty foreign countries. Operating on the same principle as a chamber of commerce, the Association does not engage in business. It is a cooperative service organization which gathers data on crops, storage, and exports. In addition, it handles problems in connection with transportation problems, new legislation and all other problems germane to the industry. For the benefit of members resident in Europe, the Association maintains an office in London. An interesting example of its international activities arose as a result of the British law of 1925 prohibiting the importation of apples containing an excess of .01 grains of arsenic per pound of fruit. At that time there was no standard for American apples, hence our government was not in a position to police the exports to Great Britain. The apple industry itself stepped into the gap and secured the cooperation of steamship lines whereby shipments were accepted only when they were supported by a certificate, issued by the Department of Agriculture, showing that the fruit met the British requirements. At the time of the London Economic Conference of 1933 the Association prepared an economic study on the United States Apple and Pear Foreign Trade Situation, and supplemented it by a survey of the trade barriers which prevented a freer international trade in apples and pears. The service rendered to the members of the Association includes crop forecasts, monthly storage reports, weekly export reports, and many special bulletins pertaining to new developments, both national and international, which affect the industry.

The tanning industry, through the TANNERS' COUNCIL OF AMERICA, INC., and the International Council of Tanners, affords a most interesting example of how business interests cooperate on a world scale. The Tanners' Council of America, a nation-wide organization of producers of all kinds of leather, was organized in 1917 at the instigation of the War Trade Board, thereby superseding three national associations of tanners and becoming the central organization of ten divisions of the tanning industry. After the armistice it ceased its quasi-official functions of supervising imports of raw materials and devoted itself to projects affecting the welfare of the leather industry. The general program includes the improvement of raw material, the control of credit, an accounting and statistical program, a color and style program, the proper

branding of merchandise, public relations, and last but not least, scientific research in the leather industry. To put its technical research on a sound basis, the Council established a well-equipped research laboratory at the University of Cincinnati, and then proceeded to endow this work so that it might be permanent. Economic research is carried on at the New York headquarters of the Council. In the year 1925 the International Council of Tanners was organized in London as the outcome of a conference of twelve of the principal leather-producing countries of the world. The International Council has as its purpose the promotion of the interests of its members by discussions of the economic problems of the trade. It acts as a central organization for the collection and interchange of information relating to the industry in all parts of the world. The rôle of countries represented in the International Council has now increased to twenty. It generally acts through the meetings of its Standing Committee, although subcommittees deal with special subjects such as standard contracts, the disposal of tanner's by-products, methods of measuring upper leather, tanning analysis and conditions for sale and delivery in the various hide markets. The International Council of Tanners cooperates with the International Council of Hide Sellers' Associations, and with various International Associations of Leather Trades Chemists.

In its effort to secure the best, cleanest, and purest spices offered, for import into the United States, the AMERICAN SPICE TRADE ASSOCIATION gives considerable thought to the quality of the goods brought into our country. The rules and regulations covering the conditions of import are under the supervision of a contracts committee, which works for changes whenever necessity arises. The Association keeps in constant touch with the primary markets, the representative trade associations there, and with the local governments, and suggests improvements in the qualities and methods of harvesting so that poor qualities of imports may be avoided. Oftentimes independent chemists are called upon to make analyses.

The FEDERATED TEXTILE INDUSTRIES, INC., a trade association which is the successor to the Silk Association of America, Inc., conducts both technical and economic research into activities which have international ramifications. For many years the Silk Association realized that research, designed to improve the product, necessitated study beginning with the raw material and ending with the proper use of the finished product by the consumer. For that reason it supported sericultural work in China to improve the quality of raw material. Special funds

were spent to educate Chinese in modern methods of raising silk. Provisions were also made for providing the purchaser of silk products with instructions for their proper use and care. The technical research was primarily on the improvement of the quality and quantity of raw silk. The standard classifications of grades, standard methods for testing for quality, and instruction and import work in China are thus a few phases of this research. It has also included studies on the washability, tendency to shrinkage, and dye-fastness of fabrics, although this later phase is not yet completed. The economic research of the Federated Textile Industries, Inc., covers a broad field of raw material and finished products, and is centralized in the Planning and Research Bureau. Current national and international trends, as well as statistics from a wide variety of sources, are compiled. An extensive library is also maintained.

FOREIGN TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

Within the fields of shipping, finance, and insurance, there are associations that perform distinct services for both the importer and the exporter. The lack of space prevents a treatment of these, and hence we turn to foreign trade associations which have a national scope, and particularly to those which have played an important part in foreign trade promotion.

The NATIONAL FOREIGN TRADE COUNCIL was instigated by the First National Foreign Trade Convention, held in Washington, May, 1914. The purpose of creating the Council was to meet the need of an organization which should "endeavor to coordinate the foreign trade activities of the nation." The Council is comprised of merchants, manufacturers, railroad and steamship men, and bankers, representing all sections of the United States and collectively standing for the general interest of all elements engaged in foreign trade.

Membership in the Council is extended upon invitation through its executive committee. A small staff carries out the details of its program under the direction of its chairman, president, secretary, and executive committee, and other important committees, and in consultation with its members. The Council undertakes to perform no individual commercial service and "seeks to render no service to its members that is not equally available to any individual or concern engaged in or connected with any phase of foreign trade."

The proceedings of the annual national conventions of the Council are published in book form. In these books one may trace the develop-

ment and growth of current opinion of our foreign trade since the date of formation of the Council. Numerous special publications in booklet and pamphlet form have also been issued, such as *Can We Compete Abroad?*, *Our Imports and Who Use Them*, and *American Foreign Trade Definitions*.

The activities of the Council are centered at India House, New York City. These are concerned chiefly with the study of proposed legislation affecting foreign traders. The Council was at least partially responsible for the passage of the Webb-Pomerene Act, and it has considered and supported problems relating to the merchant marine, double taxation, and bargaining tariffs. In these later problematical years of depression the National Foreign Trade Council has rendered practical service in many difficult problems. Chief among its accomplishments was the organization of a Committee on Foreign Exchanges which negotiated with Brazil and Argentina the refunding of approximately \$38,000,000 of blocked American balances in those countries.

The Council on Inter-American Relations, which works in cooperation with the National Foreign Trade Council and utilizes its staff, is composed of business men whose firms have suffered in common from the effects of the present depression in Latin America and elsewhere. Through teamwork, these men hope (1) to increase Latin-American trade, (2) to secure closer cooperation among industrialists, investors, bankers, and foreign traders, (3) to act as a clearing house for concentrated effort so that relations between the United States and Latin America may be improved, and (4) to continue their efforts in the education of public opinion in both hemispheres as to the importance of our common interests in trade and other relationships.

The Council on Inter-American Relations has created the Committee on Inter-American Commerce, engaging the cooperation of seven hundred Latin-American Chambers, with a Latin-American Center in New York City, to coordinate Latin-American trade organizations at a common meeting place.

The National Foreign Trade Council was instrumental in the formation of the American-Japanese Trade Council, on January 1, 1934. It is expected that the result of this cooperation of outstanding representatives of both countries will have an important bearing on future trade relations. A Committee on China has been organized recently.

The National Foreign Trade Council is also actively supporting the National Federation of Foreign Trade Associations (of the major cities of the country). This new organization has for its aim the promotion of

American foreign trade through various regional and technical foreign trade associations acting in cooperation with the local branch offices of the Department of Commerce. The Joint Committee for Foreign Trade Action, composed of representatives of the principal national organizations interested in foreign trade, meets regularly in New York City. When the Committee acts in conjunction with the National Federation of Foreign Trade Associations, effective representations can be made in Washington, thus ensuring unity of action and national publicity in discussions or educational work on foreign trade problems.

The activities of the NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICAN IMPORTERS AND TRADERS, INC., are largely confined to the rights and interests of its membership. It is the only American organization solely devoted to dealing with the many problems that constantly face merchants handling the incoming flow of commodities. The Council strives for reasonable administrative provisions and an equitable interpretation and application of our customs laws and regulations, so that legitimate rights of importers may be upheld. The Council accepts the interpretation of the protective tariff principle "as involving the assessment of duties sufficient to offset the difference in the cost of production here and abroad, in order that American standards of living may be maintained." From its headquarters in New York City, it regularly issues bulletins so that its membership shall be informed immediately of all matters of interest, both on general importing and on the products that they are handling. *The American Importer*, a monthly publication, is the official organ of the Council.

The AMERICAN EXPORTERS' AND IMPORTERS' ASSOCIATION, also with headquarters in New York City, was organized in 1907 by a few of the leading American export and import houses. The Association is composed of those merchants who were the pioneers in developing American foreign trade, prior to the time when manufacturers generally engaged in this trade. Following a period when all manufacturers endeavored to do direct foreign business, this direct business has now been largely confined to the larger manufacturing corporations which are big enough to have their own branches abroad. A substantial volume of general business has returned to the hands of import and export agents and merchants, such as are comprised within the membership of this Association. The Association acts as a clearing house for problems and complaints, it collects information relative to trade openings and connections, it deals in matters relating to shipping regulations, and proposed legislation both at home and abroad. Although it is the

only association of export and import merchants in New York, it maintains close contacts with other commercial bodies directly or indirectly interested in the foreign field.

When the AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS EXPORT ASSOCIATION was established in 1911, only manufacturers engaged in foreign trade were found in its ranks. Gradually the field of membership was broadened so that it now includes banks, steamship lines and all others interested in foreign trade. The policy of the Association is to devote itself to the task of acquainting the American people in all walks of life with "the fundamental economic truths" that underlie our position in world trade and its relation to our domestic prosperity. The services of the Association include information, council, and assistance in practically all of the technical and legal aspects of foreign trade. The *Foreign Trade Letter* of the Association is issued semimonthly with the aim of keeping members informed of all matters of interest. *Overseas Trading Data Sheets*, another semimonthly publication, presents answers to questions that have been raised by members. News releases to the press are also of frequent occurrence. An interesting illustration of the brochures issued by the Association is *The Effect of the British Tariff upon British Patents and Trademarks Owned by United States Manufacturers Together with Suggestions as to How These May Be Employed to Assist United States Export Trade*.

The most recent list of FOREIGN TRADE CLUBS in the United States includes thirty-nine clubs located in eighteen states. The strength and importance of these bodies varies greatly, and yet the general underlying characteristics are common to all. They provide a means for the interchange of experience, a chance to talk over pressing immediate problems, and finally they sometimes aid inexperienced executives who are seeking foreign outlets for their products.⁵

The collection of raw and manufactured materials on display at the PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM have given this institution a unique position in the American commercial world. A number of very large exhibits which had been shown at the Chicago Exposition of 1893 were generously given the Museum by foreign governments which had participated. Subsequently other valuable contributions have been added. All materials are so arranged that not only the successive stages of manufacture, but also the various sources of supply, are clearly shown. The museum is a wonderful laboratory for the study of industries, articles

⁵ A complete list of the foreign trade clubs in the United States is available at the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in Washington, D. C.

of commerce, modes of living of foreign peoples, and changed transportation methods.

A second feature of the work of the Philadelphia Museum is the Foreign Trade Bureau. This division of the Museum strives to aid those seeking new markets, sales representatives, translation services, foreign credit reports, and general economic information about a specific part of the world. Rather than to engage in general propaganda, the Bureau works principally for the purpose of helping individual manufacturers and exporters to secure business in the particular markets in which they are interested.

Among the regular publications of the Museum are the monthly issues of *Commercial America*, which appears in both English and Spanish, an annual directory called *American Manufacturers Registered for Export*, containing a list of manufacturers interested in foreign business, and finally an exhaustive gazetteer of approximately one hundred and seventy-five pages, filled with practical information such as would be needed by those engaged in international transactions. A very complete library of books and pamphlets is available at the Museum.

The NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF MANUFACTURERS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA was established at a meeting of manufacturers called for that purpose, at Cincinnati, in January, 1895. It has two objects in view, the development of domestic industry and the cultivation of international commerce. Soon after its organization the Association sent commissions and commissioners to various parts of the world, including Latin America, Europe, and the Far East, for the purpose of studying future trade possibilities, as well as economic conditions in general. The National Association has a series of services available through the Foreign Trade Bureau of its Trade Department. Among other things these include market investigations, registration of trademarks, credit reports, and translations. Before the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in Washington was enlarged, the National Association engaged in an even greater number of services. Since the decline in world trade the activities of the Association have been lessened, but it is prepared to carry on its old-time activities in accordance with the revival in demand. The latest edition of *American Trade Index*, one of the several publications of the Association, left the press in 1930. It contains a list of members, the products they manufacture, and the foreign connections which they maintain.

WEBB-POMERENE ASSOCIATIONS

At the close of the war it was realized that American foreign trade would be severely handicapped unless business firms in the same industry or trade could associate to promote their interests abroad. Our competitors held a considerable advantage over us in the form of combinations for both buying and selling. Under the Export Trade Act, better known as the Webb-Pomerene Act, exemption from our antitrust laws was granted to joint or cooperative export combinations, provided that these combinations were registered with the Federal Trade Commission. The law does not permit, on the part of such associations, production, manufacture, or sale for consumption or for resale in the United States or its territories. Import combinations are prohibited.

While the number of Webb-Pomerene Associations has declined somewhat in recent years, the list of associations filing papers with the Federal Trade Commission during 1933, and to February 10, 1934, totaled forty-five. The amount of research engaged in by these bodies varies greatly,⁶ due to the different problems that confront them. Some Webb-Pomerene Associations exist for the purpose of fixing prices on export business, a second group pools the foreign business obtained by individual members and then divides it according to prearranged quotas, whereas a third group fixes export prices, determines quotas, and sells the product abroad.

AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVE
ASSOCIATIONS

The establishment of the foreign offices of the CALIFORNIA FRUIT EXCHANGE, an agricultural cooperative association of deciduous fruit-growers, was accomplished not only by personal visits on the part of officials from the home office, but also by a great deal of investigation of the circumstances surrounding the buyers and brokers with whom the Exchange was to establish relations. Established business is followed up by correspondence, cables, and personal reports. Through these communications, together with reports issued by governmental agencies and private agencies, both American and foreign, the Exchange studies financial and economic conditions abroad. Having secured all the information possible concerning the size and movements of crops, as well as of business conditions from a world standpoint, the Exchange

⁶ The Federal Trade Commission in Washington, D. C., has available the latest list of Webb-Pomerene export associations.

sets prices and issues quotations. It is only a very short time after firm quotations are once issued until the Exchange is able to determine with a reasonable degree of accuracy whether its quotations have been too high or too low or about in line with world-wide conditions.

The international activities of the SUN-MAID RAISIN GROWERS ASSOCIATION, another agricultural cooperative association, are essentially confined to competitive merchandising, in which all phases of markets are studied. Since competition comes not merely from other California packers, but also from packers of raisins in other producing areas such as Australia and Asia Minor, all possible information and data concerning the raisin crop in these places is secured. The international business of the Association is carried on by two subsidiary companies, one in London and the other in Shanghai. Both of these send reports as to economic and political conditions within their respective territories, thus obviating similar activity by a department in California. The information from the subsidiary companies is supplemented by a government crop-reporting service, a service which is found very helpful.

FOREIGN TRADE PUBLICATIONS

No survey of the relation of the business man to his international problems would be representative without reference to the publications which he uses from day to day. The following list suggests what is available:

PRIMARILY FOR UNITED STATES EXPORTERS:

Commerce Reports, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C. (No advertising.)

Export Shipper, 20 Vesey St., New York, N. Y.

Foreign Inquiry Bulletin, Commercial Museum, 34 St., below Spruce, Philadelphia, Pa.

PRIMARILY FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION TO FOREIGN MERCHANTS AND CONSUMERS:

American Import Merchant, 545 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

American Exporters, 370 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.

Bulletin of the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C. (No advertising.)

Cine-mundial, 516 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Commercial America, Commercial Museum, 34 St., below Spruce, Phila., Pa.

Exporters and Importers Journal, 17 State St., New York, N. Y.

La hacienda, 20 Vesey St., New York, N. Y.

Importers' Guide, 101 West 31 St., New York, N. Y.

Mid-Pacific Magazine and *Pan Pacific Union Bulletin*, Pan Pacific Union, Honolulu, Hawaii. (No advertising.)

Pacific World Commerce; Pacific Exporter, Merchants Exchange Bldg., San Francisco, Calif.

PRIMARILY FOR FOREIGN MERCHANTS AND CONSUMERS IN SPECIAL TRADE FIELDS:

The American Automobile, 460 West 34th St., New York, N. Y.

El arte tipografico, 170 John St., New York, N. Y.

Automotive Review, Commercial Museum, 34 St., below Spruce, Philadelphia, Pa.

Cinelandia, 1031 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif.

Engineering and Mining Journal, 330 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

El farmaceutico, 330 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

The Gulf Coast Record, 12 N. Joachim St., Mobile, Ala.

Hardware, Machinery, and Electrical Goods, Commercial Museum, 34 St., below Spruce, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ingenieria internacional, 330 West 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

El mundo azucarero, 153 Waverly Place, New York, N. Y.

El reporter latino-americano, 210 Lincoln St., Boston, Mass.

Typewriter Topics, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

International Shoe and Leather Reporter (monthly), 210 Lincoln St., Boston, Mass.

MISCELLANEOUS ASSOCIATIONS

THE AMERICAN ARBITRATION ASSOCIATION

The settlement of commercial disputes between our business men and those of other nations is of vital importance in putting our international relationships on a sounder basis. The American Arbitration Association, the leader in the movement for commercial arbitration within our country, recognized that something should be done to provide a prompt, final, and inexpensive adjudication of any controversy arising between citizens of the United States and those of our neighbors to the south. Since the establishment of its Inter-American Arbitration Tribunal in April, 1932, the necessary machinery is available. The American Arbi-

tration Association also cooperates with many other organizations having similar aims, located in all parts of the world. The fourth volume of the *International Yearbook on Commercial Arbitration*, edited by Dr. Arthur Nussbaum, is to be available shortly.

THE AMERICAN TARIFF LEAGUE

Among the many groups which have definite opinions on the tariff policy of the United States is the American Tariff League, incorporated in 1885. A staff is maintained to make studies of the effects of the lowering and raising of our tariff, but at no time is the purpose of the League forgotten. On January 18, 1934, Mr. William L. Monro, President of the Tariff League, stated its position as follows: "A major activity of the Tariff League, in season and out, is to drive home this fundamental truth: Only an adequate protective tariff stands between our wage levels and living standards and those of the rest of the world. To maintain these the tariff must be sufficient at least to equal the difference between production costs in this country and those of foreign countries."

THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE

While the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce was by no means the only service organization of our Federal Government conducting research and study activities into realms affecting our international economic relations, it gradually became known as the spearhead of our trade promotion activity. The foreign aspects of the work were particularly emphasized by the very title given the Bureau in the year 1912. The result of the failure of Congress to continue appropriations for the compilation of statistics of domestic commerce was, according to Dr. Willard L. Thorp, the recent director of the Bureau, that "the Bureau became, to all intents and purposes, an organization interested almost exclusively in foreign trade reporting and promotion."

When the Roosevelt Administration came into power it brought with it a different conception of the work of the Bureau. Certain classes of specific and detailed services to individual exporters were discontinued. The new policy is to serve business on broad and more fundamental lines in the belief that the basic trade promotion work of the Department may be placed on a sounder basis. The Department wishes to cooperate with our foreign traders in matters which seem to be the proper function for a public agency. Business men are to rely upon their

own initiative in connection with services they are able to perform for themselves. The new Administration further feels that specific services, such as the selection of foreign agents for American firms or the closing of agency agreements with prospects with whom exporting firms are already in negotiation, appear to be inconsistent with the proper performance of a tax-supported governmental agency.

Relieved of the need of engaging in the above-mentioned types of activity, the foreign representatives of the Department are now expected to concentrate upon their primary function of providing the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, for the benefit of American business as a whole, with complete and intelligently analyzed information concerning the significant economic, financial, and commercial developments that are taking place in foreign countries. Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce, has expressed the view that "the Government may chart the proper courses that the foreign trader may follow, though he himself should be regarded as competent to handle the details of navigation on the voyage he undertakes." Complete information as to the widespread activities of all of the divisions of the Department of Commerce cannot be attempted in this survey.⁷ A general picture can be obtained in the latest annual report of the Secretary of Commerce.

THE INDIVIDUAL FIRM AND THE FUTURE

The American manufacturer or trader usually finds that the establishment of international connections is accompanied by many serious difficulties. He has many obstacles to surmount and a great amount of technique to learn, even after he has called upon banks, credit bureaus, chambers of commerce, trade associations, insurance brokers, shipping agencies, and the various service bureaus of our government for such aid as they are in a position to render. As an exporter, he has to survey both his own organization and world markets to be sure that his new venture has reasonable chances of success. As an importer, he must know not only his product but also have an intimate knowledge of domestic demands.

The coordination of domestic with international business is a subject which requires efficient supervision. When the Foreign Department consists of an export manager who utilizes the existing personnel which has merely added international work to its domestic activities, the department is known as the "built-in" type. Corporations, such as the Johns-Manville International Corporation, the International Harvester Export

⁷ See the brief summary, pp. 50-52.

Company, and the General Motors Export Company, represent a second type of coordinating agency, that is, the organization of a separate but affiliated corporation, which usually functions with sales, advertising, accounting, and credit departments of its own. Between these extreme types there exist many hybrid types, the multiplicity of which is evidence of the thought, attention, and planning necessary to coordinate both foreign and domestic activities.

When governments erect new trade barriers, institute exchange regulations, establish quotas, support "buy-at-home" movements, or develop schemes for restricting the export of essential raw materials, the head of the foreign department of an American company does not remain an idle onlooker. After a study of his particular problem, including all of the economic and political factors involved, he either uses his influence with business friends abroad to remove the obstacles, or he tries to adjust his organization to changed circumstances. The activities of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company in Liberia, of the Ford Motor Company in Brazil, of the United States Rubber Company in Sumatra, and the erection of hundreds of branch factories abroad are concrete evidence of how American interests seriously study their international relations. The day of "jaunty excursions into foreign trade" is past.

The activities of the International Business Machines Corporation, in seventy-nine countries of the world, may be taken as an illustration of the manner in which some of our large corporations are working out their international problems. One of the planning activities of the New York office is to send out, currently, to all branch offices, information as to new developments in machines and new applications of their machines and methods. In some of the principal foreign offices of the company, where trained engineers are available, engineering research is carried on. This information is distributed to the manufacturing plants in the United States, just as all of the developments of the International Business Machines Corporation's research laboratories here in the United States is made available for the principal foreign offices.

Another good example of the development of American business enterprise in the international field is found in the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation. While organized to cooperate and assist technically and financially in the general development of electrical communications, this corporation tries to develop really national systems, operated by the nationals of each country in which the International Corporation is or may become interested. The International organization acts as a center of research and investigation and standardization of the

most advanced and practical methods. It also serves as an exchange through which each national organization may contribute to, and profit by, the technical and operating advances of the whole associated systems.

American foreign-trade executives frequently engage in activities without realizing the effect of these activities upon international economic relations. In company with technical associates, they often travel for the purpose of learning about new methods and practices. Upon their return to the United States, these ideas are given to the research laboratories for development. The result is frequently a new or a better product, one which radically alters the use of existing raw materials or machinery, both at home and abroad. Frankness impels the writer to point out that, with the present-day insistence upon profits and quick returns, the emphasis is almost invariably upon the practical application of scientific principles and but rarely upon the discovery of such principles. The great bulk of the work of our industrial laboratories and of our statistical and economics departments belonging to business institutions is, and must be, of a utilitarian character, with results measured by business standards rather than by pure science standards. The pure science laboratory of the General Electric Company in Schenectady is an exception to the general rule.

When one approaches even the largest of our corporations with a request to describe the character of the research which they are conducting in international economic relations, a common answer is that nothing is being done. Daring as it may seem for an outsider to say so, the answer does not portray the real situation. All research into international business is not "organized research." Personal contacts and observations, both at home and abroad, are a part of the backbone of the activities of a foreign department of a corporation. These departments are simply expected to produce results under all save impossible circumstances.

Only rarely do firms have a specially organized Foreign Relations Department existing alongside of the regular foreign departments. The Du Pont de Nemours Company is exceptional in having such a foreign relations department, one whose duty is to function in a purely advisory capacity to the various foreign departments of the principal industrial and subsidiary divisions of that corporation.

The same man who is engaged in international business, and who without deep thought states that he is not pursuing the study of international relations, will, before long, tell you about the unfair competi-

tive methods of governments who are his rivals; he will tell you about the dumping practices that he has observed, as well as about the ways in which his corporation is suffering from double taxation, and will narrate in intimate detail all about tariff, quota, and financial restrictions which he is attempting to overcome.

Long before the outbreak of the War, our American corporations, such as the Pullman Company, the Standard Oil Company, the National Cash Register Company, the American Radiator Company, the International Harvester Company, and the Singer Sewing Machine Company, were conducting successful operations in the international field. To say that they made no studies of international economic relations would seem to be contradictory, for had they not done so, they would not have been successful. When the era of depression in international trade will have passed, and when our corporations will have become adjusted to new conditions and to a new American commercial policy, then it is not too much to expect that our business men will be found to possess their share of foreign trade, a share based upon an intelligent approach and study of the changed character of international relations. Just as the House of Fugger secured news of political and economic conditions throughout the world in order to conduct its banking transactions, so it is reasonable to believe that modern business men will not cease planning their business upon the basis of information that they will have gathered.

PART TWO

DISCIPLINES OF STUDY AND
RESEARCH

CHAPTER V

THE COORDINATION OF DISCIPLINES

THE description in the preceding pages has concentrated upon the instruments and agencies for research in international relations rather than upon the subject matter of the problems themselves. Naturally, in the course of the description many indications have been given of the trend and drift of scientific interest in the various divisions of the wide field covered by this survey. In what follows the perspective is reversed, bringing to the fore the subject matter and leaving the organizations of research more in the background. Moreover, in spite of all the brave show which Part One of this survey presents of institutions and organizations, of programs, study, research, and discussion, of national and international cooperation, and of the vast democracy of intellectual effort, which has given meaning to the movement of international relations, the fact remains that these are all dependent in the last analysis upon the educational system of the country. It is in the universities, colleges, and schools that the national outlook and interest are most definitely registered. This remains true, even making all allowances for the traditionally conservative character of education, for it is the intermediary between successive generations into whose keeping the long, slow processes of political and social adjustment must be entrusted.

Fortunately, there is already an adequate treatment of the international functioning of universities as such and of those special organs which they have created for this purpose. Professor Spencer Stoker, in his recent volume, *The Schools and International Understanding*,¹ has given so adequate a description of the relations and interaction of university organizations which deal with the problems of the university world that there is no reason for attempting to cover this ground again. In his earlier sections are listed those European national bodies which have been developed in recent years either on the basis of national foundations or through the stimulus supplied by the Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. Care-

¹ University of North Carolina Press, 1933.

ful bibliographical references furnish a discriminating guide to the literature in this field.

Having touched upon the work of universities as centers of research, we have here to consider them from the standpoint of instruction. The distinction between research and instruction is difficult to draw, however, and is bound to be more or less misleading. Not all that is listed as research has a valid title to the name, and not a little of the work done by younger students, and by non-technical organizations might properly claim the distinction of research. For the universities the line in this survey has been drawn between doctoral dissertations and courses of instruction, on the theory that on the one hand we have the original investigations of those capable of adding to the sum total of knowledge and on the other hand the transmission of knowledge by more or less routine pedagogical methods. It is a distinction which hardly does justice to the professor, for it would be a discouraging admission if it were accepted as indicating that the courses of instruction were no more informed with original research than the work of graduate students. It should be remembered, therefore, that the research activities of college professors have been indicated, at least in part, by the descriptions of the programs and personnel of research councils and bureaus having academic affiliations, as well as by the summary of the activities of learned societies.²

The analysis of the general and special fields which follow will furnish a fair picture of the method of approach in higher academic studies, and the thoroughness with which the ground is covered. The lists and characterization of dissertations will show the main trends in graduate instruction. Dissertations may not be considered apart from courses of instruction because, in practice, preparation for the doctorate generally involves more instruction than research.

The Social Science Research Council, from the time of the creation of its Advisory Committee on International Relations in 1927, has not been unmindful of the importance of subject matter orientation. The yearly reports of the Advisory Committee and of its successor, the Director of Research in International Relations, and the conferences of interested organizations which they have arranged from time to time, have served more or less to keep the problem to the fore. These earlier reports which have been unavailable for general circulation because they remained unpublished, concentrated more especially upon those subjects in which work was being planned or under way. They pre-

² Cf. pp. 114-119, 103 ff.

sented a picture of current interests in a limited number of special subjects rather than of the general impact of international relations upon the outlook and the instruments of research. In 1930 an effort was made to remedy this situation by Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, Chairman of the Committee. Under his editorship was prepared an important series of studies in which highly qualified specialists examined the way in which international relations had been dealt with by the various disciplines of the social sciences.

Of those which appeared only in mimeographed form, the statement by Professor Jacob Viner for the field of economics, brought up through 1932 and somewhat abbreviated, as well as a part of the general statement of trends in the social sciences by Professor Joseph P. Chamberlain, have been included in this survey.

The review of fields of American research in international law was written for this survey by Mr. George A. Finch of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This particular study, like that by Professor Chamberlain, reveals the correlation that is taking place between the different departments of study and instruction. The character of study of international law is here described as changing from that of an isolated discipline for the analysis of a body of texts registering the more or less lasting decisions of a sovereign power to a discipline coordinated with the special sciences. As such it tends to be grounded in, and articulated with, the study of the underlying conditions and movements of nations. The teaching and study of International Relations as such is the pragmatic proof not only of the need but of the probability of a general change in emphasis from differentiation according to disciplines of science to the grouping of study and research of various departments with reference to special areas. The section describing the appearance of specialized study of international relations, as a subject in the university curricula, contains evidence of this change; in fact, International Relations as a field of study and investigation is a triumphant example of the coordination of special disciplines of study.

The recent planning under the Social Science Research Council has recognized that the progress of research in international relations depends upon the growth of a cooperative mechanism of a truly international character, that study in special fields must draw upon the various disciplines which deal with special phases in each field, for instance, geography and anthropology, history of literary and cultural inheritance, political economy, and political science must all make their contributions to any adequate understanding of Latin America, the Far

East, Canada, and Europe. For research this principle of the coordination of disciplines was recognized first in the area of the Pacific. In this field the Institute of Pacific Relations' research organizations in connection with the various national councils coordinate their programs so as to cover topics of particular interest to each country, as well as those on which international joint work can be done.³

Most of the planning of the Social Science Research Council, during the last two years, has been with an eye to the erection and use of similar machinery in other parts of the world, capable of coordinating research there and thus facilitating contacts with American workers. This means planning for an adequate machinery for future developments rather than directing activity upon single problems of the day. In short, the Social Science Research Council has sought to apply the experiment, so successfully begun in the relations on the West, to those on the North, South and East of the United States. With reference to Canada a comprehensive plan has been drawn up covering the whole field of Canadian-American relations. An indication of the extent of this and of the institutions which will cooperate in it, is given in Part Three.⁴ A similar, but much less extensive, beginning has been made with reference to Latin America. Much more research, however, has been done, as was fitting, in the European field; but these activities have been so varied and so multiform as to call for a whole series of surveys of this character prepared for each country concerned, a project already under way as a part of the program of the Institute for International Intellectual Cooperation.

³ Cf. pp. 252-257.

⁴ Cf. pp. 299-304.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: A GENERAL SURVEY

A NEW ACADEMIC SUBJECT

ONLY comparatively recently in America has the subject of international relations been looked upon as a separate subject for consideration in an academic curriculum. International law and diplomatic history have ever dealt directly with phases of the consequences of this adjustment. Other social sciences, notably history and economics, have recognized the importance of the consideration of the influence of international relations on their subjects. There seems, however, to be developing a new emphasis, both on the importance of the international, as against the strictly national, point of view in the collection and the interpretation of data, and, in addition, a realization of the interrelation of the data collected by scholars of different disciplines in their bearing on an understanding of international relations.

The trend in the social sciences follows the trend in the life of the world which they are studying and interpreting. National economy and national social life are becoming more and more dependent on their relationships with other national economies and other national societies, which are expanding rapidly, both as to quantity and as to influence on business and life at home. This expansion is being accompanied by an increase in regulation, which in its turn is developing more and more into a regulation of the affairs of private individuals internationally, but through the States as administrative units, and is even showing a tendency to set up international means of control and regulation in certain fields, recognizing the impossibility of leaving this process entirely to the national governments.

Another reason for the development of the academic subject of international relations is the realization that international law and diplomatic history do not explain international intercourse, the causes of which lie in the economic and social life of the world society. Problems involved in the adjustment of the increasing activity of international life cannot be solved without a consideration of the fundamental primary factors underlying that life and causing the problems to arise.

A contributing factor to the new study has been the emphasis which the economic and social factors in international life were gaining over the political. The increasing power and influence of the business man and recently the labor leader, as such, is indicative of this changing emphasis, which is substantiated by the fact that international relations are growing out of the hands of the foreign departments of the governments. In the United States they are involving other departments with a technical knowledge of the subject, such as the Treasury Department, the Department of Commerce, the Postoffice, thus emphasizing the economic and social elements as against the political elements in international conferences. The work of the League has given effect to this tendency which was becoming apparent in the settlement of the world's affairs. It may seem natural that this should be increasingly true in the work of the League's many committees and commissions composed of experts not representing governments, and even in its committees which, although their members represent governments, have dealt with the economic and social as much as with the political side of particular situations. The League is nevertheless an organ of governments, a situation which conditions its action. The International Labor Office, representing employers and employees, as well as governments, has had an important effect in creating groups of persons with a world outlook in respect to their affairs. In the meetings in which representatives of employers and employees have contested for their own advantage, the government members, however, have often performed the traditional function of governments, arbitrating differences, and weighing the relative strength of the conflicting interests.

These developments have served to impress upon scholars that the study of international relations is no longer entirely a subject for political science or law, but that economics, history, sociology, geography—all the social sciences—are called upon to contribute towards the understanding and the solution of difficulties arising as a consequence of the international system. Much more is this point of view emphasized in the work being done in the League, and between business and social organizations with international relationships, in exploring the causes of maladjustments in the economic or social structure such as those arising from national tariffs, from immigration, from the spread of disease, and in taking measures in advance to mitigate their effects, if the difficulties could not be done away with altogether. Conscious international action in the form of multipartite treaties, often called international legislation, requires the same kind of careful investigation of the

factual reasons for the proposed regulation before action is taken, and these factual reasons lie more in the fields of the economist, of the medical man, of the sociologist than in those of the lawyer or the political scientist, important as it is that scholars of these disciplines should contribute their share of fundamental fact and their skill in adjustment of a decision to the governmental machinery of the time. It is significant of this tendency that the international lawyer is devoting himself principally to the law of peace and to the study of means of international administration and sanction rather than to the law of war.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL EMPHASIS ON THE INVESTIGATIONS BY GOVERNMENTS AND BY THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

It is also significant that the Government has increased greatly its study of the international side of economics, has multiplied its publications, and, perhaps most striking, is turning out economists trained in an understanding of the importance, and of the facts, of international economic life with regard for the limitations placed on the free expansion of that life by the existence of national governments. The necessity of government action with respect to cartels and other great international combinations, either the change of national laws or the preparation of international agreements, will call for advice to those who must take political action, from those who understand the economic and social, as well as the business, consequences of the new forms of international business control and the constitutional possibilities of national action. Furthermore, the governments are realizing the importance of geographers, not only directly in relation to boundary disputes, but also in regard to human geography, as exemplified in the study of the development of pioneer belts.

Alongside the facts increasing international exchanges of every sort, and the much more closely interwoven chain of individual business and social relations, stands the tough fact of nationalism. The government expressing the will of the nation often uses its great power to advance what is considered the self-interest of the state community without regard to the interests of the international community, or even the interests of the state unit itself seen from an international point of view. The sentiment of nationalism is strong, it is armed with political power and with a consciousness of national economic and social unity. In the field of education this sentiment does much to interfere with the spread of the wider ideas of international community of interest. The generally sympathetic attitude of secondary school teachers towards international-

ism is checked by a nationalistic public opinion. Many prejudices of race, many historical memories tending to cause the people in the nation to consider themselves superior socially and as a unit in the midst of the world, many economic interests based on a national economic system, combine to make of the nation a phenomenon which must not be underestimated in evaluating the future course of international relations or in the study of any particular problem.

With the exception of its contribution to international law and to diplomatic history, social science is making indirectly its principal contribution to the understanding of international relations. American economists, sociologists, geographers, and anthropologists are led by the nature of their fields of study to take a broad view of human affairs and to emphasize the international, rather than the national, point of view. The economist sees the wide play of the forces which he studies and the action and reaction upon one another of production and consumption in different nations. He sees the development of international trade and finance. Production and distribution are tending to be studied on a world basis. The student of population, again, is led to a broad view of his subject and is keenly alive to the necessity of treating it from other than purely national considerations. The historian tends less to take nationalistic views in his writing and to extend his study to take in the points of view of other nations, so that a sense of fair play and reasonable consideration for other nations is inculcated as against a previous tendency toward justification of nationalistic objectives. Furthermore, leading historians tend to make their researches in history turn on other than national units, as, for instance, ancient history treating of the whole Mediterranean Basin rather than of Egypt or Greece, studies of Western civilization rather than of single European countries. This tendency is increased by the study of cultural history which treats mankind, or a section of mankind, as a whole, not as divided into political states.

Anthropological and sociological research notably is building up facts to disprove the assertions of national and racial superiority and thus to break down barriers against a wider view of mankind. Studies by scholars in these disciplines, of groups in other countries, are of great importance as laying a basis for better understanding of the living conditions and character of other peoples, and thus supplying facts for a reasonable view of the relations which should exist between them and for the difficult problems arising from migration.

It appears generally true that scholars in the different social sciences

are internationally minded. It is interesting that this generalization is made as to the teachers in the secondary schools, although qualified by the consideration that they are usually sentimental and lack time for study or lack the information necessary to make them understand fully the reasons for their sentiment. While the economists, historians, sociologists, and geographers are not always fully conscious of the international possibilities of their work, they nevertheless almost necessarily have a tendency to look beyond national boundaries for explanations of social phenomena. The point is made, however, that geographers in most countries in Europe are nationalistic in their attitude, while American geographers,¹ though not consciously developing international spirit, are without a nationalist bias in their treatment of their data. It is said that some British geographers definitely aim to advance internationalism by their writings.

International law, becoming more a law of peace than a law of war, is dealing more with the regulation of affairs which touch individuals, such as commercial and transportation treaties, international cartels, international claims. It, therefore, is coming more and more to deal with the regulation of the interests of the world community rather than as a regulation of the actions of the separate states.

In addition to collecting data and looking at them from a world standpoint, various disciplines may make special contributions to a better understanding of international affairs. Sociology has built up a technique for the study of groups and group action, so far rarely applied to other than local groups, but which should give results of value in study of national groups as an aid to international understanding. The sociologist approaches his data in a naturalistic fashion and thus will escape a formalism which may obscure the underlying social cause in an international situation. His approach should be helpful in the constructive side of international relations. The geographer can contribute a special skill in finding and stating the facts of the earth's surface, and in passing to human geography and notably commercial geography and the study of populations, he will force attention on underlying facts which must be considered, regardless of political considerations. The

¹ Since great scholars in each discipline of studies unquestionably affect the character of its thought, it is fitting to note in this connection the profound influence which Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Director of the American Geographical Society, has exercised, not only upon geographers but upon that welding of the social and the physical sciences which opens new perspectives in both. The scope of his activity has never known national boundaries, and has reached wherever the problems of man's adaptation to his environment was most challenging.

economist has special training in interpreting facts and special understanding of the consequences of certain relationships; the sociologist, the anthropologist, and the historian are all interested in the cultural side of human life and would therefore check the too physical point of view of the economist and the geographer. The lawyer and political scientist should bring their knowledge of the way in which political bodies act, and of the important facts of governmental structure and the legal rules which have been accepted as controlling international life.

THE PROBLEM OF COOPERATIVE RESEARCH

A problem of research, however, does not center in general points of view or general collections of data. It involves a particular problem or social phenomenon and only rarely can such a problem be thoroughly explored with the resources of but one discipline. The great problem of migration, for example, is not solely sociological, or economic, or political. It involves the study of the effect on society of immigration and of emigration, to which the sociologist and anthropologist must contribute; it includes also an examination of the economic effects of the transfer of population, which will involve either new agricultural or industrial production, with its consequent repercussions on the economic structure, national and international. It is concerned, too, with the political organizations of both countries, that of immigration and that of emigration, and with the many consequences—legislative, administrative, or judicial—which may result from the fact of migration. In the study of race prejudice it has been proved that facts and points of view, which sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and economists can contribute are essential to understanding all the factors involved. In like manner economists and technical engineers are sharing more and more in the work of preparing for the multilateral treaties. A study of nationalism, in turn, would require the techniques in gathering and interpreting data of more than one of the social sciences. The study of the effect of technological changes in agricultural and industrial processes would throw new light on international social questions. The widely extended use of rayon, for example, in displacing the use of silk may have consequences, not only on the economic, but on the social, life of Japan, which would in turn lead to international difficulties and have a political consequence. So would inventions which would render less necessary the use of tropical vegetable oils for soap or lubrication of machines affect the regional economy of great areas and the course of world trade. To determine what changes might be in prospect from such

inventions, the knowledge of chemists and engineers must be called on, but it would require a trained economist, a sociologist, and a political scientist to estimate their probable consequences, through national economy and politics, upon world economy and politics.

Research interest in international relations in the different sciences is very uneven. Students of international law are well supplied with institutions for encouraging research and with opportunities for publication. The tendency for codification and multipartite treaties or legislation is a great incentive to individual research, as is the fact of increasing international litigation. The increase in the number of international organizations like the League, the Labor Office, the World Court, international conferences, international organs for administration, furnish other incentives to research.² There is a considerable amount of money available for research and there is a very large volume of published results of research. The material for research in law is available, but there is a need for compilation of non-legal materials and, for Americans, of material in European law bearing on international law. The materials of the League have added enormously to the possibilities of research, but American libraries are not well supplied with the reports and minutes of the different international unions, without which research in this important movement in international society is impossible.

In the other disciplines examined, the research directly bearing on international relations is not great, but the background material in sociology, anthropology, economics, and geography is very large. The interpretation of this material in respect to international relations is slight, and collections of data for the purpose of dealing with these problems directly, or in such shape as to aid students from other disciplines in continuing studies, has not been carried out very far. It is rather striking that there is very little research in America on international labor problems and that American economists and geographers as a rule do not point their studies towards the conscious solution or explanation of international problems.

In addition, there has been little reliable study on methods of teaching international relations, though there is beginning to be research on international attitudes, based on the technique of the study of attitudes which is being developed by psychologists.

While there has been much research in Europe on nationalism, there has been no study of American nationalism, though there are a few

² Cf. Chapter XVII, *seriatim*, pp. 435 ff.

Americans studying nationalism in Europe. It is interesting that there has been little attempt to apply the economic point of view to the explanation of the history of nationalism. Study of problems of world economy which are being examined in Europe, is lacking in the United States and would be very useful in directing more definitely the minds of economists towards the international aspects of their researches.

In spite of the recognized advantages of cooperation in research projects bearing on international relations, there is notably little that has been done so far to realize it. There are projects going forward at the present time, but a technique and method of cooperative research scarcely exists. In international law, it is recognized that advance must be based on an understanding of world conditions, that jurists must work with technical social scientists and statesmen. In the League this process is going on; it is notable in many international conferences. It is unfortunately true, however, that the technique of preparing for these conferences through consultation by men of different sciences under the guidance of lawyers has not been applied sufficiently in this country. There are three kinds of cooperation—cooperation between a number of different individuals in the same or allied sciences, each studying a part of a problem and bringing the results of their studies together in a study such as that directed by Professor Merriam on Training for Citizenship in various European states; cooperation between persons of different nationalities, but in the same discipline (a notable instance is the Millionth Map of the World being carried out by geographers of different countries on a fixed scale and through consultation by groups working each in its own country, in which the American Geographical Society is taking its share, not only by covering the map of the United States, but also by working in South America, where it has secured the cooperation of South American geographers and governments, and of corporations who have made investigations in that continent); and, third, cooperation between men of different sciences studying the same question (the study in Chicago on the Causes of War and the Pioneer Belts Study³ are examples). In these studies scholars of different disciplines are cooperating in an investigation and conclusions on the data collected.

Of the American agencies concerned with the study of international affairs there are at least three distinct types. There are agencies concerned with fundamental research carried on by individuals through grants; a second variety is interested in the preparation of reports on

³ Cf. pp. 89 f., 295-296.

current problems for the information of selected classes of the public or the public generally; a third type includes the many institutes which assemble around a table a few persons especially informed and a number of persons especially interested in a topic, to explore that topic from different points of view.

The products of the second type are not even. They are sometimes very well put together and well thought out and are a by-product of long-continued research by scholars thoroughly competent in the field. The third type, again, is not research in the proper sense, but is of value as a type of cooperative method in bringing together scholars who have already done sound work on the subject discussed and administrators or men of affairs who approach it from the standpoint of practical experience. It is evident that the second and third types are of value in proportion to the amount of substantial research of the first type which has been done, and they may be looked upon in the main as outlets for research rather than as research agencies in the same sense in which the word is applied to the first type. In addition to the outlet for research provided by the publications and round table conferences, there are an increasing number of organizations which meet to hear addresses on international topics. Furthermore, information service to classes of the public, as, for example, to newspaper editors, is of sound value if it is prepared by men who themselves have studied fundamentally the subject on which they are writing. Too often the material of the second type, addresses made at meetings and newspaper information service, is merely the result of a putting together of obvious material without any knowledge of its background or any interpretation of its significance. The value of the whole informational material on which the public opinion or the opinion of groups of the public is being formed, depends on thorough research of the first type.

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMICS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND COLLEGE TEACHING

As a separate field for economic research, coordinate with the other branches of economics, international relations is just beginning to obtain recognition in the United States. The study of the economic aspects of international relations is just in the first stages of becoming an established branch of economic teaching or research. It has as yet no traditions, no specialized technical journals, no separate provision for bibliography in the economic journals, no organization of any sort providing facilities for conference, for exchange of views. In this respect, therefore, it falls short of international law, and, in a lesser degree, of the history of diplomacy and of international relations.

Until the post-War period, research in economics was practically confined to the universities and to government bureaus and departments. In the universities such research as there was, was carried on by members of the teaching staff as a supplement to their primary teaching and administrative duties, or by graduate students to provide the materials for doctoral dissertations. The research projects were usually individual projects, although to some extent graduate students chose, or were assigned, topics which were part of a more comprehensive plan of research of their instructors. The subjects for research were generally closely related to the matter dealt with in class instruction. Instructors naturally tended to do research along lines which would add to the content or the quality of their instruction. Graduate students were influenced in their choice of topics for their doctoral dissertations by the advice of their instructors, by the interest in specific problems resulting from their courses, and by considerations as to the field in which they hoped eventually to obtain teaching appointments. There resulted a definite and marked tendency of research work in economics to follow the lines of the more or less traditional college curricula in economics. For this reason, material bearing on the place of international relations in the college curricula of the pre-War and post-War periods would have a bear-

ing on the explanation of the place held by international relations as a field for economic research.

Some valuable information on the place held by international relations in the teaching program of college departments of economics is available in a committee report on *Teaching of Economics in the United States* as of 1910-1911¹ and in a similar survey as of 1925-1926 made by Professor L. C. Marshall.² These studies reveal clearly that international economic relations, during both the pre-War and the post-War periods, has a very minor rôle in college teaching. In the pre-War period, the only subdivision which indicates that the courses covered by it dealt in any specific way with international relations was Tariffs, but it is altogether likely that there were very few, if any, courses included under this heading which went beyond, or far beyond, courses on tariff history, tariff problems, or the theory of international trade. In the post-War survey Professor Marshall's use of the heading "International Relations, including Tariffs" would suggest that a broadening in the content of these courses had taken place. Such a tendency was no doubt aided by the appearance of two new textbooks, G. M. Fisk and P. S. Pierce, *International Commercial Policies* (1923), and W. S. Culbertson, *International Economic Policies; A Survey of the Economics of Diplomacy* (1925), both of which, but especially the latter, covered a broader field than the traditional course on tariffs, in so far as specific international economic problems were concerned, and both of which omitted, or dealt only incidentally with, the theory of international trade. If the amount of the offerings in the two periods is considered, there was relatively a substantial increase, yet absolutely only a moderate increase, in the offerings in this field in the post-War, as compared to the pre-War, period. But if the increase in the number of institutions and the marked increase in the offerings in economics as a whole are taken into account, the increase is seen to have been of only modest proportions. In both periods, only a tiny fraction of the teaching program of college departments of economics was devoted to the field of international relations, and the fraction was even smaller for the post-War than for the pre-War period. Without information as to student registrations, however, it is not permissible to conclude that international relations received a smaller proportion of the students' attention. It is worth noting that before the War the offerings in this field were

¹ *Journal of Political Economy*, XIX, 760-789.

² Reprinted in *The Collegiate School of Business*, L. C. Marshall, editor, University of Chicago Press, 1928, Ch. vii.

relatively much more scanty in the Middle West and West than along the Atlantic Coast, and that this continued to be the case after the War, except that there was a marked increase in the offerings in this field of the Far Western colleges.

The post-War period, however, has brought a marked increase in the amount of college teaching of foreign trade, which was not a sufficiently important field in the pre-War period to receive separate classification. These courses are mostly business courses, of a practical nature, dealing with business practices and procedures. Many of them, however, include as introductory matter, concise surveys of the theory of international trade, and of tariff problems and other international problems. The increased offerings in this field are in part the product of the great expansion of commercial education in the colleges, and in part, the product of the War-time growth of American foreign trade, which resulted in a wide-spread overestimate of the extent and the quality of the opportunities for business careers which foreign trade offered to college graduates.³

It may be added that of the thirty-eight members of the American Association of Collegiate Schools of Business in 1925-1926 which were not included in the survey referred to above, twelve announced offerings in the field of international relations (including tariffs), and thirty-three announced offerings in foreign trade. These announcements, however, in many cases included offerings in the colleges of liberal arts.⁴

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN GRADUATE STUDY

Similar information as to the graduate school offerings in the field of international economic relations is unfortunately not available. Examination of the bulletins for the latest available academic years of twelve of the leading universities offering graduate instruction in economics showed, however, that all but three offered graduate courses in the theory of international trade, in international finance, in international economic relations, or in two or more of these subjects.

Some indication of the extent to which graduate students in the American universities are carrying on research in the field of international economic relations and as to the character of the problems which they investigate may be derived from a study of the annual lists of doctoral dissertations in preparations on economics and related sub-

³ The great expansion in the teaching of Spanish during this period rested also, in large part, on exaggerated estimates of the opportunities for its profitable use in connection with Latin-American trade.

⁴ L. C. Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

jects, which is published each year by the American Economic Association. Even though it is notorious that a comparatively large proportion of these theses are never satisfactorily completed, nevertheless, it appears that an increasing number of American graduate students choose international economic relations as the field for their doctoral research.⁵

While the traditional fields corresponding most closely to curricular offerings, namely, theory of international trade, tariffs, and foreign trade, still are prominent, there is a tendency for the topics to cover a wider range, reflecting a broadening interest in the field. In the earlier years, doctoral research in this field was almost exclusively confined to Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, and Pennsylvania Universities, in the order listed, these accounting for thirty-eight of the forty-four theses in this field in the 1914, 1919, and 1924 lists. The 1929 list shows, however, a much wider distribution; the four institutions named above account for only eighteen of the thirty-four theses, nine other institu-

⁵ The following table presents an analysis of these lists:

ECONOMIC THESES AND THESES IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC RELATIONS

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Year	<i>Economic Theses, Total</i>	<i>Theory of Intern'l Trade</i>	<i>Tariffs and Com- mercial Policy</i>	<i>Foreign Trade</i>	<i>Intern'l Financial and Monetary Problems</i>	<i>Population and Migration</i>	<i>Miscellaneous</i>	<i>Total</i>
United States ^a								
1914	193	..	..	2	..	7	1	10
1919	193	2	2	6	2	2	1	15
1924	360	3	3	4	5	..	4	19
1929	578	4	7	6	4	6	7	34
1930	614	4	13	7	8	3	6	41
1932	566	0	12	4	11	2	4	33
England ^b								
1929	167	1	4	7	1	4	3	20
1930	169	..	9	2	4	1	4	20
1932	217	1	4	5	7	3	4	24

The contrast between the pre-War and the post-War period would be more marked if the theses in the field of population, many of which have little or no international bearing, were omitted.

^a Compiled from annual lists of doctoral dissertations in *American Economic Review*.

^b Compiled from annual lists of doctoral dissertations in *Economica*.

tions accounting for the remainder. The institutions reporting three or more theses in this field were for 1929 as follows: Harvard University (7); The Brookings Institution (4); Chicago University (4); University of Pennsylvania (4); and Columbia University (3).

It is interesting to compare with these data the similar English data for 1929. The proportion of economic theses which are in the field of international relations is appreciably larger in England than in the United States, and considering the much greater number of graduate students in economics in this country than in England, the absolute number of such theses is also impressive. Of the nineteen English theses in this field, all but four were reported by the London School of Economics. But this institution reported the great bulk of the theses included in the list as a whole, the institution of the doctoral dissertation having been accepted more whole-heartedly by the London School than by Oxford and Cambridge and the provincial universities.

EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON ECONOMIC INVESTIGATION

The World War forced upon the American people a greater attention to world affairs and to the problems arising out of international relations than had hitherto been customary, and the influence of this growth of interest in international relations on the work of economists revealed itself both in the extension of their investigation to specifically international problems which they had hitherto neglected and in greater stress than had hitherto been given to the international aspects of the traditional topics of economic investigation. A good case in point is the monetary field. Monetary theory had been developed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in England and the United States, in close conjunction with the theory of international trade, and monetary problems had been dealt with as largely international problems, instead of as purely internal or domestic problems. Later, however, these two branches of economics had become almost wholly divorced from each other, especially in American economics, and had been preserved in water-tight compartments, with mutual loss to each branch. The international aspects of the post-War monetary problems were so obvious and important, however, that the two branches have tended again to coalesce in large part, and are now, as a century ago, being studied together again.

During the War, and continuing after it, there was a marked extension of the research activities of the Federal Government in the field of international economic relations, especially in connection with the

preparation for the Peace Conference and the work of the Department of Commerce under Hoover and the Tariff Commission under Taussig, Page, and Culbertson. There resulted from these enlarged activities not only a substantial body of published material, historical and contemporary, on such problems as foreign trade, tariffs, reciprocity, commercial treaties, the Open Door, colonial policies, raw materials, commercial legislation dealing with the rights of aliens, international investments, shipping policies, and so forth, but perhaps even more important, a sizable group of economists acquired both interest and training in research in international economic problems as a result of their government employment, and a large proportion of the significant research in this field which has been accomplished in recent years in this country has been done by economists who received much or all of their research training in such work under Federal Government auspices.

The data presented above indicate that since the War there has been a marked increase in interest in international relations, which is reflected in the increase in the amount of research accomplished or under way in this field, in the establishment of a number of research institutes with the purpose of promoting research in this field in a systematic and comprehensive way, and in the increased amount of teaching and research on a graduate level being carried on in the universities. The range of problems in which research is being conducted has also widened, and tariff history, immigration, and the theory of international trade do not by any means cover as large a proportion of the research work in the field as they did before the War. Not only do international financial and monetary problems now receive a great deal more attention than formerly, but a considerable amount of research is under way on such problems as raw material controls, international cartels, economic imperialism, the possibilities of international economic organization and control, and economic factors in general as sources of international friction. There are important areas of the general field, however, which are still practically ignored by economists, and are either not being studied at all, or are left to the international lawyers, political scientists, or others without specific economic training or interest. On many problems of economic interest and importance, the only good American material, aside from the original source material, has been provided by men in other disciplines. Although much of this work has been of a high order even from the specifically economic point of view, the economist has a contribution of his own to add in the study of these problems.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC STUDY

Merely as a list of illustrative examples, which could easily be extended, of international problems primarily or largely economic in character, to whose analysis and solution American economists, with few exceptions, have as yet not made any contribution of importance, the following may be cited:

International fisheries

The international copyright problem

The most-favored nation clause and its alternatives in commercial treaty practice

Colonial tariff policies

The international aspects of patent legislation

International protection of trade-marks and brands

Insurance legislation affecting foreign companies

Banking legislation affecting foreign companies

Post-War developments in national shipping policies

Standards of competition in foreign trade

International waterways

International communications (press services, cables, radio, telegraph, etc.)

Customs unions

Prohibited or regulated trades (slavery, drugs, liquor, sanitary regulations, etc.)

Export prohibitions with respect to hydro power

Alien rights with respect to land-ownership

Treatment of foreign corporations

Import monopolies

Import quotas (e.g., automobiles, dyestuffs, movie films)

Failure of the economists to discover the existence of these problems, or at least to investigate them, is to be explained in the main by the fact that the recognition of international relations as an appropriate and important division of their discipline is comparatively recent, and that even economists working in this field have not yet fully realized the range and pervasiveness of international economic contacts or have concentrated their attention, at first, on the central and conspicuous problems, and especially those which happen to be the subject of current controversy. In the few texts on international economics, little or nothing is to be found on these subjects, and almost the only American material of a specifically economic nature is to be found in Federal Government documents. Fortunately, however, these problems have not been wholly neglected, as many of them have been ably investigated

by international lawyers, political scientists, and historians. In some cases, the economic aspects of the problem are comparatively simple, or are minor elements, and there is not urgent need for the specific contribution which the techniques and the background of the economist enable him to make. In most cases, however, these topics present distinctly economic problems, difficult of analysis, and requiring the co-operation of the trained economist for their adequate diagnosis.

On the basis of this survey of the published results of research in the field of international economic relations and of the research projects under way or immediately contemplated, a list of topics was suggested on which some research, and in some cases considerable research, has already been completed or initiated, but which still call for a substantial amount of additional investigation:

The creditor-debtor relations between strong and weak countries

International cartels

International migration of industries

International migration of industrial technique

Export controls, export taxes, national monopolies of raw materials

Economic appraisal of the value of colonies to the mother country, and of the connection with the mother country to the colonies

Emigration as a solution of the "surplus-population" problem

Economic appraisal of the record of pre-War international organizations, such as the Brussels Sugar Convention, the International Postal Union, etc.

In general, also, the contribution of economists to the historical study of international economic relations, has, with the exception of general tariff relations, been slight, and in some cases the pre-War experience has been left without study by the other disciplines as well. There is much to be learned from pre-War experience with respect to many current problems. Merely as illustrations, there is no good comprehensive historical survey of commercial treaty practice; of diplomatic disputes centering about national monopolies of raw materials; of the experience of foreign companies in the courts of other countries under either municipal or international law; of American shipping relations with other countries; of diplomatic controversies resulting from delinquencies of governments in connection with their public debt securities held by foreigners; of the relations between tariff negotiations and *haute diplomatie*; of the administration of boundary regulations with respect to railroad traffic; of fisheries controversies. There has been no systematic study of the effect of independence on the trade relations between former colonies and their mother country, and of annexation on the

trade relations between the mother country and its newly-acquired colony. There is still a vast field for research in these and allied problems, and in fact, little has been done as yet. The economic factor in pre-War diplomacy seems still to be a field which has only been skimmed as yet, except with reference to some areas, notably the Far East, and certain specific problems, notably the Bagdad Railway, the South African gold mines, and the open door in the Congo Territory. Even to the skimming, economists have made only very slight contributions, although a number of promising researches in this field are now under way in this country and in Europe. It is a somewhat curious phenomenon that economic historians have shown more interest in the history of trade relations prior to, than after, the Industrial Revolution, and that there are more studies of a scholarly kind of the trade relations between England and Holland, or England and France, during the seventeenth, than during the nineteenth, century. For many of these problems, the cooperative efforts of historians, political scientists, and economists are required if they are adequately to be treated, but one of the most promising trends in post-War research in this field has been recognition of this need and provision of facilities for meeting it. This recognition has been, perhaps, more marked on the part of the economists than of the other groups, for the economists have been ready as a rule to admit the presence of other than economic factors in international problems, and to acknowledge that they were not, as "economists," wholly competent to deal with these other factors or to appraise their importance.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNATIONAL LAW

AMERICAN STUDY AND INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

THE study of international law in the United States has always had its votaries in respectable numbers, but its growth during the present century has been most significant. From the first days of the Republic, the contributions of American writers have been noteworthy and show the consistent interest manifested in the subject in this country. The names of Kent and Wheaton among the earlier writers, and of Marshall and Story on the bench, are well known in the science throughout the world, while those of Moore and Scott are equally as well known among modern commentators, to mention but a few of a large and increasing list of text writers and editors.

A wider acquaintance, at least with the elements of international law, has no doubt developed in the United States side by side with the popular movements in favor of international peace, and especially of arbitration as a substitute for war in the settlement of international disputes. The periods contemporaneous with, and immediately following, the series of arbitrations under the Jay Treaty of 1794, concerning questions left unsettled by the Revolutionary War, and the Treaty of Washington of 1871, concerning the disputes between the United States and Great Britain growing out of the Civil War, were both marked by unusual interest in the rules governing the intercourse of nations, with resulting outputs of voluminous new literature, some of a permanent value, but much of a fugitive character bearing only on the particular questions in dispute.

The attempt to negotiate a general treaty of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain by Secretary of State Richard Olney and Lord Pauncefoot in 1897, followed almost immediately by the Hague Peace Conference of 1899, which concluded the first general treaty for the pacific settlement of international disputes and established the first Permanent Court of Arbitration, were certainly responsible to a large extent for the revival of interest in international law in the United States at the beginning of this century. Taking advantage of

this popular feeling, Secretary of State John Hay in 1904 undertook to negotiate a series of general arbitration treaties with leading European powers, and his unsuccessful efforts were brought to fruition in 1908-1909 by Secretary of State Elihu Root. In the meantime the Second Peace Conference was held at The Hague. It revised the Convention of 1899 for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, adopted a series of other conventions and declarations dealing with the laws of war and neutrality, and made a valiant effort to replace the so-called Permanent Court of Arbitration with a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice. All of these efforts to extend the domain of international arbitration by general treaties and to provide a real international tribunal for the settlement of international disputes under such treaties met with wide-spread approval in the United States and became the subject of study and research by societies and in educational institutions.

As a part of this general movement, a feeling developed that better progress would be made in promoting international arbitration and the establishment of an international court if greater certainty could be obtained in the principles of international law to be applied in settling the disputes between nations. Dr. Francis Lieber, who was one of President Lincoln's legal advisers during the Civil War, had successfully codified the laws of war in the now famous *Instructions No. 100 for the Government of the Armies of the United States in the Field*. Dr. Lieber's success with these *Instructions* and his later correspondence with experts in Europe led to the formation in 1873 of the Institute of International Law, a private scientific body of limited membership for the study and development of international law. Leading American international lawyers have been elected to the Institute from time to time, and a number of them are at present members. The Institute does practically all of its work in Europe, meeting at irregular intervals in the various capitals. Since its formation in 1873 it has met only once in the United States.

Practically simultaneous with the efforts of Dr. Lieber, another group of Americans became interested in the codification of international law and enlisted the aid of David Dudley Field, the draftsman of the Civil Code of New York State. Mr. Field, accompanied by Elihu Burritt, the indefatigable American apostle of international peace before the Civil War, and Dr. James B. Miles, Secretary of the American Peace Society, went to Europe in 1873, and with some European associates founded in that year the Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations. This Association was different in purpose and membership

from the Institute of International Law. It welcomed to its membership not only lawyers, but shipowners, underwriters, merchants, and philanthropists, and received delegates from affiliated bodies, such as chambers of commerce and shipping, and arbitration and peace societies. In 1895, the Association changed its name to International Law Association, and it now has branches in eighteen countries, including the United States, and nearly 3,000 members. The American branch, which was established in 1921, holds an annual meeting and cooperates in the studies made by or under the auspices of the parent Association.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ASSOCIATIONS

The first of the specifically American societies formed to study and discuss international law questions exclusively was the American Society of International Law. The idea of forming such a society was brought up at the Eleventh Annual Conference on International Arbitration held at Lake Mohonk, New York, in 1905. A small group of interested persons at that Conference appointed an organizing committee and the Society was formally launched in Washington on January 12, 1906. The first annual meeting was held in the same city in April, 1907, and a meeting has been held each year since then at the same time and place. The object of the Society is to foster the study of international law and promote the establishment of international relations on the basis of law and justice. It has pursued this object by the holding of its annual meetings and the publication of a quarterly magazine.

At the annual meetings papers are read and discussion takes place on various questions which fall within the scope of the Society's activities. The discussions are generally grouped around some topic or topics of current interest in the relations between nations. For example, in 1932, the Society considered for the most part legal questions involved in the dispute between Japan and China over Manchuria, while at the annual meeting in 1933 the principal questions related to the sanctions of international law, such as boycotts, embargoes, non-recognition, and intervention. The papers and discussions of the annual meetings are printed in a volume of *Proceedings*.

The Society's magazine entitled the *American Journal of International Law* has been published quarterly since 1907. It carries articles and editorial comments on timely subjects of international law, the texts of judicial decisions of national and international courts involving the principles of international law, reviews of books dealing with the subject in both the general and special phases, a chronicle of important

international events, and the texts of official documents, such as treaties and diplomatic papers of especial interest.

From the small group which started the organization at Lake Mohonk in 1905, the Society has now grown to a world-wide membership of over 1,200, the larger percentage of whom are, however, Americans. The Society embraces in its membership practically all the teachers and practitioners of international law in the United States, as well as many students and government officials, especially those in the Foreign Service of the United States, and some who serve other governments. In addition to the circulation among the members of the Society, the *American Journal of International Law* has a subscription list of over 1,000 non-members, including libraries and Government offices.

The Society is entirely supported by the annual dues of its members and subscriptions to the *Journal* from non-members. Its first president was the Honorable Elihu Root, who, as Secretary of State, encouraged the formation of the Society and contributed the first article to its *Journal* under the title "The Need of Popular Understanding of International Law." Mr. Root's thesis was indicated in the opening sentence of his article, which reads: "The increase of popular control over national conduct, which marks the political development of our time, makes it constantly more important that the great body of the people in each country should have a just conception of their international rights and duties."

When Mr. Root retired from the presidency of the Society in 1924, he was succeeded by Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, then Secretary of State. Upon Mr. Hughes' elevation to the Chief Justiceship of the United States in 1929, he was succeeded as president of the Society by Dr. James Brown Scott, one of its founders and from the beginning its secretary.

Due to the initiative of Dr. James Brown Scott, of the United States, and Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, of Chile, an American Institute of International Law was founded on October 12, 1912, and held its first formal meeting in Washington at the time of the second Pan American Scientific Congress in December, 1915, and January, 1916. The American Institute is composed of five representatives of national societies of international law established in the different American Republics. At its first meeting it formally organized, elected Dr. Scott president, and adopted a Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Nations, which has received world-wide commendation. The second session of the Institute was held at Habana, Cuba, in January, 1917, at which it adopted rec-

ommendations concerning international organization. A third meeting of the American Institute was held at Lima, Peru, in December, 1924, in connection with the meeting of the third Pan American Scientific Congress and adopted some thirty projects for the codification of public international law. These projects were revised and improved upon at a fourth meeting of the American Institute held at Montevideo in 1927 and were the basis of action of the official Committee of American Jurists which met at Rio de Janeiro in that year. Twelve of these projects, as well as a code of private international law, also recommended by the American Institute, were adopted with some modifications by the Commission of Jurists and transmitted to the Sixth International Conference of American States which met at Habana in January and February, 1928. The Conference at Habana adopted the conventions recommended by the American Institute on Commercial Aviation, the Pan American Union, copyright, status of foreigners, treaties, diplomatic officers, consular agents, neutrality, right of asylum, rights and duties of states in case of civil war, as well as the code of private international law.

TEACHING OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

The teaching of international law in the educational institutions of the United States has been a special object of consideration by the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Shortly after the Endowment was established in 1911, the Division, in compliance with a resolution of the Board of Trustees of the Endowment, conducted an inquiry among the colleges, universities and law schools regarding their courses in international law and related subjects and the number of students enrolled. The results of this inquiry were published in a report dated April 18, 1913, which was accompanied by a series of tables listing the colleges, universities, and law schools in which the subject was taught and statistical data in regard to the courses and the number of students.

Ten years later a second inquiry of the same kind was conducted by the Division of International Law and the results published in the *Annual Report* of the Director of the Division of International Law, which is included in the Endowment's *Year Book* for 1922. Comparing the figures contained in these two *Reports*, it appears that during the academic year 1911-1912, which was covered in the first *Report*, international law and related subjects were taught in 220 educational institutions of the United States, while ten years later the number of insti-

tutions including these subjects in their curricula was 225. The amount of time assigned to the teaching of these subjects had, however, increased from an average of sixty-seven hours per academic year per institution to an average of eighty hours per academic year, or an increase of approximately 20 percent. The increase in the number of students was still greater. The number reported in 1911-1912 was 6,272, while in 1920-1921 the number had increased to 8,990, or approximately 45 percent.

A third inquiry of the same kind was conducted by the Division of International Law covering the academic year 1926-1927, and the results were published in the Endowment's *Year Book* for 1928. According to these figures, the institutions listed as teaching international law and related subjects had increased to 356 and the number of students had grown to such proportions that it was found necessary to separate the students taking international law from those taking related subjects. According to this latest inquiry, there were 248 educational institutions in the United States giving courses in public international law, with an aggregate attendance of 8,508, or an average of thirty-four per institution offering the subject. No figures were published covering the related subjects, but the report states that courses in related subjects in universities and colleges now considerably exceed in number the courses in international law proper.

A survey entitled *Courses on International Affairs in American Colleges*, covering the years 1930-1931, published by the World Peace Foundation, lists courses on international law, not including law schools. This survey and the *Year Books* of the Endowment referred to contain tables giving the names of the institutions at which international law is taught, the names of the professors and instructors, and the number of students taking the subject.

The increase and development in the teaching of international law indicated by the foregoing figures, may no doubt be attributed in part to the encouragement offered by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace through its Division of International Law. Following its first survey and report, the Endowment financed a series of national conferences of teachers of international law and related subjects which have been held in connection with the annual meetings of the American Society of International Law. Such conferences were held in 1914, 1925, 1928, 1929, and 1933, and each was attended by something over 100 professors and teachers of international law and related subjects, drawn from the leading educational institutions in all sections of the United

States. These conferences made a series of recommendations looking to the introduction of courses of international law in institutions not already offering such courses, and proposed methods of teaching adapted to the several kinds of curricula—undergraduate, graduate, and law school. The Conferences also included methods of research in their programs. As a result of the recommendations of these Conferences, the Carnegie Endowment, through the Division of International Law, established fellowships in international law to provide a competent corps of teachers to take care of the increased demands for instruction in this subject. An average of ten such fellowships has been awarded each year since 1918.

RESEARCH IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

A more recent development in the field of research in international law started on the initiative of the faculty of the Harvard Law School, which, in 1927, invited an advisory committee composed of the leading international lawyers and teachers in the United States to undertake the preparation of draft conventions on the subjects placed upon the program of the first official Conference for the Codification of International Law held at The Hague in 1930. This Research in International Law was organized under the directorship of Professor Manley O. Hudson, of the Harvard Law School, and draft conventions with exhaustive and invaluable comments upon them were prepared on the subjects of nationality, responsibility of states, and territorial waters. Later, other subjects which had been selected by the League of Nations Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law were likewise treated, and in 1932 draft conventions, with comments, were completed on diplomatic privileges and immunities, legal position and functions of consuls, competence of courts in regard to foreign states, and piracy. All of these draft conventions, with the accompanying comments, have been published in volume form by the Harvard Law School and also as *Special Supplements* to the *American Journal of International Law*. The funds for this research were provided by the Commonwealth Fund and by Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. The Research is now working on the subjects of treaties, extradition, and jurisdiction to punish for crime.

A number of learned societies interested in the social sciences, and of the special bureaus, institutes, etc., organized to do research work, devote part of their energies to studies in the field of international law. A substantial part of the studies sponsored by the Bureau of Interna-

tional Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, for example, are in this field.¹ The journals of the learned societies—especially those dealing with political science and the many law journals which are published by universities and other organizations throughout the country—also frequently carry articles on international law subjects.

Several of the other foundations and similar special endowment organizations also take an active interest in international law questions. They either grant funds for research in this field and for the publication of the results of that research or maintain organizations for their own research work. A report on *Research in International Law since the World War*, prepared by Professor Quincy Wright, of the University of Chicago, for the International Relations Committee of the Social Science Research Council, was published by the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1930.²

¹ Cf. pp. 114-115 and note 32.

² See "Pamphlet Series" No. 51.

CHAPTER IX

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDY IN GENERAL

THE fact that courses in International Relations are quite generally offered to the undergraduate body in American universities and colleges has been attested by the survey entitled *Courses in International Affairs in American Colleges* which Mr. Farrell Symons made under the auspices of the World Peace Foundation. The figures of a statistical summary of the findings recorded in that volume were very surprising, even to those who thought they were familiar with the field. When the survey was made (1931) there were more than 3,700 semester courses in undergraduate instruction which dealt with international affairs in some of their multiform aspects. More than 13,000 semester hours of weekly instruction for half a year of undergraduate classroom work, or the equivalent, were devoted "to this new orientation of American economic, cultural, and political life. Calculating fifteen weeks to a semester, this amounts to a total of almost 200,000 classroom hours during the academic year. There were practically no colleges or undergraduate instruction in the entire country which did not give some course or courses in international affairs."¹ Equally interesting is the evaluation of those findings as summed up by Dr. James T. Shotwell:

The full significance of these figures only becomes apparent when one recalls that a generation ago courses dealing with international affairs hardly figured at all in undergraduate instruction in American colleges, and that in the graduate faculties they could almost be counted on the fingers of one hand. . . . That the change has been a shifting of the content of existing courses, rather than the adoption of any revolutionary theories in education, is abundantly proven by an analysis of this volume. While there were over 1,600 courses which deal with the history of Europe, the British Empire and the foreign relations of the United States, there were only some seventy-five devoted to the international organizations which might be thought to embody the structure of a world community. International relations and international law combined, with 480 courses, were still considerably less than

¹ Symons, *Courses in International Affairs in American Colleges*, p. vii.

the courses dealing with the development and world problems of the British Empire, of which 517 were listed. There has, therefore, been less a displacement of existing courses by those that are radically new than a modification and enlargement of perspective in the familiar fields. . . .

Yet a further examination of the classified statistics in this volume led to a somewhat disturbing conclusion. While the sum total of courses in the major divisions of study works out in the reassuring averages to which I have just referred, the showing is by no means so good when one turns from generalities to details. Not all of these announcements should be taken at face value. In some colleges there was an evident indication of that type of amateurish journalistic interest in half-understood things which has been one of the outstanding weaknesses in American education, a desire to be in the fashion and by headline devices in the listing of courses to give a more or less specious appearance of being up-to-date. One evidence of this was the overemphasis of international law as a subject of undergraduate instruction. It was to be found listed by colleges which had little else in the whole field of politics. On the other hand, a university like Columbia, which led the list with sixty-seven courses, had only two under the caption of international law. Sometimes this lack of balance in the curriculum is little less than appalling. One wonders whether the offerings have been selected with reference to any consistent, constructive educational philosophy, or whether they had been dominated by the interests and ideas of individual instructors, or whether, perhaps, the institutions themselves had surrendered to that kind of dilettantism referred to above, which is, after all, a more or less normal accompaniment of any period of change.²

The praise and the indictment of this comment are undoubtedly still merited when international relations courses are viewed in the large. But something quite different appears to have been happening within the universities proper, meaning those institutions with graduate schools—in distinction from technical schools and colleges—which are “accepted” as universities, in fact as well as in name, by the Association of American Universities.³

² Symons, *Courses in International Affairs in American Colleges*, p. viii.

³ The twenty-nine institutions, members of the Association, have recognized eight others as of university rank. The members are: The Catholic University of America; Clark, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Northwestern, Ohio State, Princeton, and Stanford Universities; the State University of Iowa; the Universities of California, Chicago, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin, Washington University, and Yale University. (The University of Toronto and McGill University are also members.)

The others are: Boston, Duke, Marquette, New York, and St. Louis Universities, the Universities of Cincinnati, Colorado, Pittsburgh, and Washington (at Seattle), West Virginia University, and Western Reserve University.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

After 1920 the League of Nations, both in its organizations and in its developing functions, was a phenomenon in the world's experience which challenged the attention of students of political science in particular. In due time political science departments offered courses in International Organization to their advanced students; and such courses were soon followed by graduate seminars for the study of the new institution. The study of the League and its functions led naturally to the consideration of definite problems of international relations involved. The reverse process, however, was also frequently the case: careful, detailed study of definite international relationships led ultimately to the study of the League and its functions in connection with one subject after another until interest in the study of the League itself developed. The expanded content, by whichever direction attained, resulted in the creation of new courses for the study of different phases of the international problems which soon defined themselves. Study of mandates and dependencies, for example, became the subject matter of advanced courses or seminars. International relations in general, in distinction from the institutions or machinery of government, became a subject for special treatment; advanced courses and seminars for the study of international relations, as well as for the study of international organizations, were the result. In many instances interest came to be centered upon the study of relationships rather than upon the study of organization.

In time the emphasis upon function and relationships was reflected in the older courses. Before the war, for example, courses for the study of European governments had been mainly studies of constitutions and institutions of government. The lineal descendants of these courses, entitled "Comparative Governments," have recently dealt with the actions of governments, as well as with their constituent powers.

Before the War, it is also true that the constitutional character of political science study had often resulted in the inclusion of International Law as a course in the department of government. Sometimes International Law, a course in the law school of a university, was recommended to advanced students of political science. But when episodes of the World War and of the post-War years brought international law quite obviously into the realm of current affairs, it became a matter of more general concern. In practice, study of the entanglements of post-War international affairs frequently led to discussion of the international

law involved. In consequence, elementary courses on international law made their appearance even among undergraduate courses in political science, as well as in the graduate school. Before long, advanced courses in private international law and public international law were defined.

In only a few universities, as at Harvard—where study of international law has long been a dominant interest, and where it has been included within the purview of political science—were international law courses set apart in a group by themselves within the department of political science. Wherever such a division has existed, the tendency has been for courses like those now listed for undergraduates and graduates on International Government, Nationalism in International Relations, Modern Imperialism, New Tactics in International Relations, and other less legal treatment of international affairs, to be included in a group entitled International Law and Relations. At Harvard, in particular, the courses primarily for graduates are quite technical in character, the oldest being the course given by Professor G. G. Wilson, entitled International Law as Administered by the Courts and as Observed in International Negotiations.

In some other universities, less distinguished in international law, or where international law has not been closely associated with political science, the opposite development has taken place. Courses in International Law and in International Organization have been included with courses on the Dependencies, American Foreign Policy, Far Eastern Diplomacy; as a group they have been entitled International Relations. Where this has occurred the functional emphasis has remained superior to the legal. In practice such International Relations groups of courses have become the foreign relations sections within departments of government, in distinction from political theory, local and national government, labor problems and the like. More recently they have manifested a tendency to become separate disciplines even as political science departments themselves, a quarter of a century ago, developed out of courses in government that had defined themselves and asserted their independence inside history departments.

In many institutions the multiplication of courses resulted in courses in Political Theory, the Federal Government, Labor Problems, Dependencies, International Organization, Local Government, International Relations, and many more being listed without logical sequence. The multiplication of courses and the diversification of subject matter in political science was parallel to similar developments in other departments. In universities generally, organization and classification of sub-

ject matter has resulted in the grouping of courses within departments and in the definition of fields of concentration. Courses in other departments related to the subject matter of each group are frequently listed. The details of method matter little. The important fact is that varying devices have been evolved to help the undergraduate and ultimately the graduate to have a content of education that should be synchronized. Moreover, after related courses were grouped together, each group became a field of concentration for major or minor interest.

At the University of Washington, for instance, the work of the department has for some years been divided into four groups: Political Theory and Jurisprudence; International Relations; National Government; Local Government. Graduate seminars are offered for various subjects within each field. For international relations, in particular, one seminar is in International Organization, the other in Oriental Diplomacy. The introduction of seminars for graduate study of international relations has sometimes preceded, sometimes followed, inclusion of the subject in the undergraduate course of study. At present a third of the universities are offering political science graduate seminars in International Relations as such; two-thirds are offering seminars in International Law, International Organization, American Diplomacy or some particular phase of international relations that fits into their general scheme, which, more often than not, is determined by geography and their own development.

Thus during the last ten years it has not only become more and more possible for undergraduates in universities to take their degrees with their majors in international relations, within the same interval, candidates for the doctorate have been enabled to concentrate in the field of international relations. In fact it is possible to work for a doctorate in International Relations at Clark University, Stanford University, the University of Chicago, and the University of Michigan. Wherever special schools exist, as at Johns Hopkins and at Princeton, the granting of degrees even on particular phases within the field of international relations must inevitably follow. For the most part, however, the doctorate is taken in an older discipline, frequently in political science, although in reality the field of concentration or the major interest has become the field of the doctorate. Thus in practice in many institutions it is becoming more and more usual to take an advanced degree in International Relations and related subjects.

Yale University, in 1934, gave a formal recognition to this growing tendency. A department of international relations, the first in any

university in the United States, has been evolved from the courses in International Relations, which heretofore were offered by the department of government.⁴ Undoubtedly this precedent will be followed wherever groups of courses within a department shall become, in reality, a major field of activity.

It should be made clear at this point that what has been described is but a cross section, so to speak, of a transitional process which is rearranging and elaborating both the content and organization of the course of study in political science. This process within one department has been paralleled by a transitional period of similar character in educational policies which has been manifest in other departments. In fact the changing university curricula have been contemporaneous with the appearance of the new approach to education which has been evolving in the grade schools and even in the high schools. In the elementary schools it has been labeled "progressive education," in the upper school "integration"; in either case the emphasis has come to be placed upon the attitude of the individual towards events and peoples rather than merely upon a knowledge of facts about them. In addition the departmentalization of study has been broken down—the literature, the history, the economics, and the government of a people or a period have been assembled for the better understanding of each phase of the subject. Moreover, the noble effort to remake the work of the freshman year by the creation of orientation courses, which unfortunately in practice are too often unoriented masses of information, is yet another endeavor to adjust education to the demands of a changing world. A few notable examples of successful achievements in this direction are well known. Perhaps the most famous is the course in Contemporary Civilization at Columbia University; its fundamental virtue lies in the presentation of the historical background, which may serve as a point of departure for intelligent approach to contemporary international relations. An interesting example of a new project of this nature is the General College Course of the University of Minnesota, first announced for 1932-1933. Here the freshman, who does not know what his special interests are, is offered a course entitled *The Background of the Modern World*. The explanation appended reads: "It is of the ut-

⁴ The Director of Graduate Studies in International Relations at Yale University describes the well-rounded department of international relations as one which offers work in five fields, namely, International Politics, International Government, International Law, International Economics, and Diplomatic History. In the end "it should provide training in the designing of means to ends; that is, in the foundation of policy." (*News Bulletin* of the Institute of International Education, Vol. IX, No. 8 (May, 1934), pp. 4-6.)

most importance that the citizens of each country understand the problems and difficulties of other races and nations. Only upon such intelligent comprehension can satisfactory international relations be based. The twentieth century is teeming with complexities which may be made understandable by a study of their origin in the remote past and their evolution through the modern era." Clearly in this instance the attitude of the individual towards the facts, and an understanding of the background of contemporary affairs, are combined as ideals for undergraduate study. It is only one illustration of the change in subject matter, approach, and emphasis, which have affected education as a whole, including special disciplines of advanced study, during the period of transition that followed the creation of the League of Nations. In the last analysis it may even be said that international relations as they centered in the League and the methods of dealing with them through the League secretariat was a new experience that set a new standard for study in the social sciences.

The newer content and newer emphasis which has appeared within departments of political science in relation to their study of international relations has also been contemporaneous with the appearance of the special Organizations concerned with Research in International Relations, already described in Part One, Chapter III, of this survey.⁵ A changing world, registered in the changing content of the university curriculum, has been formulating education for those who would enter the newer research, or who would contribute to its intelligent direction. Thus the contemporary world is prodding education, and is, in turn, being prodded by the professors who have directed their thinking to the reconstruction of contemporary life.

HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The political scientists, however, should not have all the credit for developing or elaborating a new content for the study of public affairs. The historian, too, especially the historian of American history, has frequently become interested in the history of foreign relations of the United States, or in the history of American diplomacy and extended that interest into contemporary history or international relations. Presumably the student of European historical development was always interested in European international relations; seldom, however, was he especially interested in contemporary Europe. Many of the scholars of European history have been trained in the school of Ranke, whose ideal

⁵ Cf. pp. 80, 81, 92, 96, 114-119.

was to describe the past *wie es eigentlich gewesen*; a few of them had progressed to the interpretation of "how things have come about," but even so the topics of study chosen were not contemporary. Not only did the outbreak of War in 1914 take many a student of European history by surprise, but study into the causes of that War, and the necessity of understanding the momentous happenings of a post-War world, have given him a new perspective on his European history. No longer could he or his world be content with the study of how things came about in the past. Many historians have in consequence redirected their thinking and teaching to an explanation of how contemporary events have come about; and the content of causes in history departments in universities and colleges have been reorganized accordingly. Indeed it should be said that many history courses have ceased to be static in character.

The changing content of history courses is well illustrated by the development in the offerings at Columbia University. In fact, Columbia has been a pioneer. The faculty of political science, which included the history faculty, began in the 80's within the strict limits of the disciplines as then conceived. The subject of its study in all its courses was the national State. Not only was public law the study of the functioning of government under sovereignty as conceived in the absolute form of the nineteenth-century state system, but international relations was limited to the history of diplomacy in the narrower sense and to international law. In history Professor William A. Dunning was a pioneer when he added courses in American history subsequent to the Civil War, and Professor Charles A. Beard followed with more recent history. Professor William R. Shepherd was the first to treat American Colonial history as the Expansion of Europe; he was also the first outside California to teach Latin-American history. At the same time Professor James Harvey Robinson's course in the History of the Intellectual Class in Western Europe challenged and largely changed the orthodox perspective of history not only in Columbia University but in the United States generally. Social and Economic History was also first developed in university classes in Columbia. In recent years Professor Carlton Hayes has contributed to the clarification of the international situation by his studies in Nationalism, a field in which a number of the undergraduate instructors have also contributed special studies dealing for the most part with phases of recent European history. Yet, although the mold of nineteenth-century instruction was broken down prior to the World War, the subject of international relations was taught only in

undergraduate classes. Since the War Columbia University has not developed any department of international relations, even though it has many courses distributed in several departments. From 1924-1932 Columbia University published a "Bulletin of Information" on *Courses Offered in International Relations and International Law*.⁶ This assemblage of courses was intended to exhibit the opportunities for the study of international relations to students majoring in any of the established departments, thus enabling them to select from related departments phases of international relations which should be correlated with those of their major interest. No definite combinations of courses entitled International Relations is described. Those wishing to specialize in international relations take their degrees in public law.

The changing emphasis in the history program in general that has taken place throughout the country in all educational institutions—whether college or university—may be indicated by the titles of courses introduced at Clark University. In larger institutions it is not as easily described because of the multiplicity of courses. As early as 1906 graduate students at Clark were offered a course entitled Contemporary History. Two years later a course in Current History, for undergraduates, included a study of Russia, Liberia, Manchuria, Japan, China, the Philippines; in 1912 a course with the same title added Turkey, Siberia, and the Congo Free State. Graduate courses on Russia and the Far East, and the Near East and Africa, were added in 1911; British Colonies and Dependencies in 1913; Latin America in 1915; and the History of American Diplomacy in 1918. The courses that were added after 1920 are only an elaboration of the earlier program: in 1921, Expansion and Colonial policy of the United States, and Expansion of Europe; in 1922, the Washington Conference and the International Relations of the Far East; in 1923, the Foreign Policy of Soviet Russia; in 1924, European International Relations, 1898-1918; in 1925, A Survey in International Relations, British India, Nationalism and Imperialism, and Topics of Recent and Contemporary History of Continental Europe.

Another example of the contemporary emphasis in history courses is in the 1933-1934 list of offerings by the history department at Stanford University. Twelve of the twenty-six advanced undergraduate lecture courses, upon which further study may be based, touch recent events; their descriptive titles are:

⁶ The publication of this bulletin was discontinued after 1932, pending the organization of the Parker School of International Affairs.

Europe, 1870-1930, including the courses of the World War, and the political reorganization of Europe

The Balkans since 1800 . . . the World War and the peace settlement

Modern Germany . . . with special attention to the World War and the Revolution of 1918-1919

History of Russia . . . since 1682

The Russian Revolution, policies and institutions and the Soviet Union

History of Canada . . . federation and autonomy in the British Commonwealth of Nations

England and the British Empire since 1760

The Rise of the New United States, 1890-1920

Japanese Foreign Relations since 1894 . . . to her imperialism and to her position in world politics

History of Japanese Civilization

Government of Japan . . . the underlying factors in the struggle between bureaucracy and democracy

Mexico and the Caribbean . . .

Two years earlier other courses were included, but meanwhile Mexico and the Caribbean have replaced Serbia and the international problems of the Near East. Moreover, the prominence of news concerning Japan's activities in Asia have resulted in two courses being added to explain that country, its civilization, and government. The history department of Stanford University in the West and Clark University in the East, like others throughout the country, are quite clearly responsive to the challenging events of world affairs. Lecture courses, whether concerning Russia, British India, the Pacific and the Far East, the British Empire or the United States, have tended more and more to bring the study of each particular country or region down to the present day, and to build the background for research in international relations.

The changed emphasis in history courses, however, has sometimes developed through the study of the history of American diplomacy. In such case, the study of international relations is orientated with American history through the history of foreign affairs of the United States. The course of study that is offered at Northwestern University, for example, is notable not only for this development but for a grouping of history courses comparable to the groupings that have appeared in political science departments; in fact, American Diplomacy has become the international-relations section of the history department. The seven other fields of concentration, for graduates and undergraduates alike, are interesting because they illustrate again the changed character of history teaching which has been indicated. Five fields of concentration

describe the civilization or culture of a region, a country or a period; one is called English and American Constitutional Development (not Constitutional History), another, Economic and Social History of Modern Europe. The study of "American Diplomacy" as a field of concentration in the department of history, however, includes related courses in economics, geography, and political science. In addition to the courses in the United States History, Diplomatic History of the United States, Contemporary History, or Hispanic American Nationalities which are required, six hours must be chosen from four specified courses in modern European history, and twelve hours must be chosen from courses in regional geography, and Foreign Trade Principles and Policies, and three hours in political science including International Organization, American Foreign Policy, and Government and Politics of Eastern Asia. Similarly the international relations field of concentration in political science requires a study of Psychological Foundation of the Social Sciences, the Elements of Economics, and Contemporary Europe (given by the history department) along with a series of political science courses which include American Foreign Policy, Nationalities and Nationalism, International Organization, the International Problem of Asia and the like. In practice the principle of correlation of courses from different departments—the "integration" of subject matter—is practiced in the study of international relations whether in the department of history or political science. It matters not whether the integration of subject matter has evolved out of the demands which contemporary events have made upon education, or out of the correlation of specialized knowledge; the fact remains that the two developments are mutually helpful.

ECONOMICS AND THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Departmental specialization, naturally, must precede correlation of related courses from diverse departments. Too often courses comprised in the study of international relations do not include many in the field of economics because there are only a few universities where departments of economics have created a field of concentration in international economic relations. More often, as at the University of Wisconsin, a course entitled International Trade or a seminar on International Finance is grouped with other courses in finance, the international aspects of the subject being made part of the general subject-matter field. Where the international aspects of the subject have come to be emphasized, as at the University of Michigan since 1929, international

economic relations, as a field of concentration within the department of economics, includes such courses as International Trade, European Economic Problems, Far Eastern Economic Problems, and a Seminar in International Relations. Such specialization in international economic relations developed much earlier under Professor Jacob Viner at the University of Chicago. It does not, however, appear to have developed to a like degree in many universities. In fact Professor Viner, himself, in a preceding section, entitled "Economics," discusses the limited activities of economics study in the field of international relations.⁷

COORDINATION OF DEPARTMENTS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

One variation in the organization of courses, which has been evolved at the University of California, is entitled Foreign Trade; it is under Commerce Courses, a division of the department of economics. A group of courses in foreign trade of the Far East, of Latin America, and of Europe, and a seminar in International Commerce all follow a course in economics entitled Principles of International Commerce. This group belongs strictly to the College of Commerce; undoubtedly it concerns the practical technique of international relations, the theories of which may be studied in the group of courses entitled International Relations in the department of political science. One of these theoretical courses, Theories of International Relations, is unique: it is described as a study of "Ancient and medieval theories; modern theories of nationalism, imperialism, internationalism, and cosmopolitanism;" it is followed in the second semester by a course in Recent American Foreign Policy. A parallel course, International Barriers, is equally individual: it is described as a study of "psychological, racial, religious, and economic obstacles in the way of the extension of the democratic principle of international relations"; the second semester course that follows is a study of International Organizations. Other courses in the international relations section of political science courses at the University of California give due consideration to the countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. Colonial dependencies are also studied: the Colonial Dependencies of European States, in the first semester and the Dependencies of the United States, in the second, is followed by a more advanced treatment of Problems of European Colonial Empire and Government of the Philippine Islands.

Foreign commerce and foreign service, not international relations,

⁷ Cf. pp. 186-188.

appear as major fields of study at The George Washington University, located in Washington, D. C. The George Washington University has for some years endeavored to offer the kind of courses which should meet the requirements of those who wish to prepare for government service within the Department of State or the Department of Commerce. Since 1928 the catalogue of the University has included quotations from the Government bulletins—*American Foreign Service* and *Appointments to Positions at Home and Abroad in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce*—which set forth the qualifications and requirements for that service. The undergraduate course of study prescribed for foreign commerce includes: two semesters (3 hours a week) of Commercial Geography, two semesters of International Economic Relations, one on the History of Commerce, and one on the Economic Development of the United States, three in Money and Banking, Banking Systems, and International Banking and Exchange, and one in Exporting and Importing; in all, ten semester courses in economics are required and two full year courses in political science, namely, Commercial and Maritime Law, and International Law. Elections are possible for the study of International Organization, International Relations, the Near East, the Far East, and Political Institutions of Hispanic America. The course prescribed in preparation for Foreign Service requires ten semesters of political science, comprising both the optional and required courses of the Foreign Commerce program, with the exception that two semesters in Comparative European Government may be substituted for International Organization and International Relations. In addition history and economics elections from the following courses are permitted: two semesters of Commercial Geography or International Economic Relations must be chosen together with two semesters (6 hours) of history from History of Modern Colonization (3 hours), Modern Imperialism (3 hours), or History of the Foreign Relations of the United States (6 hours).

Another interesting and notable demonstration of the correlation of departments and the synthesis of subject matter that has taken place in the study of international relations is demonstrated in the announcement, which, since the summer of 1931, has come at the end of the University of Chicago catalogue of courses in Arts, Literature, and Science. Before that time, it is interesting to know, the last announcement was that of the Department of Military Science and Tactics. When military science as such was first removed the new last section of the "Announcements" was International Relations. At present the Department

of Physical Culture and Athletics is at the end, and International Relations is the last section of the Division of the Social Sciences. International Relations is not described as a department because the higher degrees in that field are administered by the Division of the Social Sciences through a committee consisting of faculty members from several of these departments. The committee is headed by Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the University, with Quincy Wright, professor of international law and director of the Harris Foundation,⁸ as chairman. The ten other members (1933-1934) include the dean of the division of the social sciences, two professors of sociology, one of Russian language and institutions, one of law, one of geography, one of Far Eastern history and institutions, and two from the department of economics.

The work of international relations is divided into thirteen fields, of which six are general and seven regional.

General Fields

1. International Law and Organization
2. International Economic Relations
3. Diplomacy or Diplomatic History
4. The Psychology of International Relations
5. Political Geography
6. Colonial Policy and Administration

Regional Fields

1. The United States
2. Latin America
3. The British Empire
4. Europe
5. Slavic Countries
6. The Near East
7. The Far East

The courses listed are from various departments, which have added courses, or remade those existing, to comprehend the changing events of our contemporary world. The detailed lists indicate how each department has responded to history in the making. The work in international relations is offered to students who would fit themselves for professional foreign service under the United States Department of State or under the Department of Commerce, and to students who are interested in the foreign service of banks and industrial corporations, and in educational work. The committee in charge, however, "emphasizes particularly preparation for original research in this field. Heretofore, international relations has been studied mainly from the legal or from the historical point of view. It is the aim of the Committee to train students in the application to the problems of international relations of methods long used in the fields of economics, sociology, political science, psychology, and geography, as well as those of law and history. In addition, students

⁸ Cf. pp. 117, 122 f., 299.

should become acquainted with the actual conditions, history, institutions, and attitudes of politically organized people. While detailed knowledge of all countries cannot be expected, familiarity with at least one of the important civilizations of the world seems essential. Thus, the student is expected to combine the general fields which constitute the bulk of the work with at least one regional field.”⁹

MISCELLANEOUS INFLUENCES CONTRIBUTING TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The series of examples so far given show quite clearly not only that the subject of International Relations, as such, has found a place in the university curriculum, they show equally well that the character of the teaching of international relations is varied to suit the particular location of the institution or specialized interests of the staff itself. Location on the Pacific coast predisposes an interest in colonial dependencies and the commercial relations and commitments of the Far East; location in Washington, D. C., gives to two universities, Georgetown and The George Washington University¹⁰ the opportunity to specialize in training for Government service, commercial or diplomatic. It has already been pointed out that the study of international relationships in connection with the study of International Law at Harvard University was determined by the long-established importance of the study of International Law at that institution. Likewise it is but natural that the dominating interest of Professor George Hubbard Blakeslee, the head of a department in a smaller institution such as Clark University, should determine the character of the courses within that department. It may be less easy to isolate the factors that determine the combination of interests, commercial, theoretical, and personal, which are manifest in the course of study at the University of California, or the interest in American diplomacy which has become a field of concentration at Northwestern University. But when concentration in international economic relations at the University of Michigan is noted, it is easy to discover that this group of studies was first added to the offerings at Michigan in the year that Professor Charles Frederick Remer joined the teaching staff. It is also true that the evolution of the international relations section which has attained its majority since 1930, within the department of government at Yale University, has been under the direc-

⁹ University of Chicago, "Announcements," Arts, Literature, Science, 1933-1934, pp. 315-316.

¹⁰ Both have schools for foreign service, which are described with "International Relations Schools," pp. 127-128.

tion of the professor who taught two semester courses in 1926-1927, entitled *Factors in International Relations*, and *Agencies in International Relations*. Moreover, the present students at Yale University who have wished to specialize in international relations or to prepare themselves for the foreign field in the service of the United States Government or of business organizations, have been advised to consult Professor Nicholas John Spykman, who, in 1934, has become the director of graduate studies in international relations. Thus it may not be gainsaid that in the last analysis, whether the institution is large or small, the character, emphasis, and organization of its course of study reflects the thinking of its teaching scholars; and that those scholars—whether in history, political science, economics, commerce, psychology, or literature—have been stirred by the problems of our contemporary world, is without doubt reflected in the classroom even more than in the printed course of study. Courses of study, in reality, are the barest record of what is being achieved; they reveal, quite clearly, however, both that post-War international affairs have received increasing attention from the social studies throughout the last decade, and that the social sciences, in particular, are being synthesized for and in the study of international relations. Moreover, the study of international relations—in its particular aspects or in synthetic approach—is beginning to offer the preparation necessary for practical experience in public affairs, while contemporary problems are furnishing the projects for scientific analysis which shall include, at least, the historical, economic and political science approach. Perhaps the present crisis in which the historian, the economist, and the political scientist are called upon to serve on League Commissions, or to serve the United States Government in the capacity of financial, agricultural, commercial, or international advisers, is furnishing the laboratory for the social sciences.¹¹

¹¹ The School of Public Affairs which is being set up in connection with the American University, Washington, D. C., has not so far planned specifically to include study of international relations. It is primarily a school for the study of the national government at first hand. Other colleges and universities will be invited to send selected students in the field of political science for special first hand observation. A small permanent faculty will be supplemented by visiting professors from different universities throughout the country. The courses will be short, closely related, and numerous enough to make profitable a laboratory observation course in practical government, varying in length from three months to a year. (*New York Times*, March 3, 1934.) The American University, School of Public Affairs initial project was The Institute for the Study of the Emergency Agencies of the Government, June 25 to August 17, 1934.

THE NATIONAL INSTITUTION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

While this survey was at the press an announcement concerning "A Laboratory of Public Affairs" by Mr. Otis T. Wingo, Jr., appeared in *The Educational Record* for April, 1934. The following statement is from a reprint which was published by the American Council on Education.

To provide an opportunity for that most necessary training in the practical operations of the government, the National Institution of Public Affairs is now being established in Washington. Starting early in 1935 the Institution plans to bring a selective group of college juniors, seniors and young graduates to Washington for a practical, constructive and inspiring training for service and leadership in public affairs.

Self-governing, privately financed, non-partisan and non-political, but enjoying the cooperation of the National Administration, this "laboratory of public affairs" will appoint its students upon a plan similar to the selection of Rhodes Scholars.

Designed not to compete with existing educational facilities but to augment theoretical and classroom study of politics and government, the National Institution will afford a knowledge and a training in the practical functions, organizations, procedure and methods of the Federal Government.

The laboratory program will include lectures by government officials, forums for discussion, observation of the functionings of several departments, individual work on special case problems, and practical work as an "interne" in some branch of the government in which the student is particularly interested. An official will serve as an adviser or tutor co-operating with the educational director of the Institution to make the special work of each student constructive, logical and worth while.

The Washington program of the National Institution, restricted as it will be to a comparatively small number of students each year, will not directly affect large numbers of American college students. In a supplementary activity, however, the National Institution is stimulating the development of "Public Affairs Forums" at each of the 600 colleges and universities throughout the country.

As well as it is possible at a distance from the seat of government, these forums will study the practical operation of the Government and concrete aspects of public affairs, and members will be encouraged to engage in the campaigns of their own political parties. These campus clearing houses of practical public affairs will thus serve as preparation both for a tour of study in Washington and for a later interest and activity in politics and government.

The agenda of these forums will not be confined to the Federal Government and national affairs, but will also include the consideration of current problems and a study and active participation in the local government and politics as evidenced in the communities close to the colleges and the universities.

The National Institution of Public Affairs constitutes the first fundamental step in a conscious, objective program for the training of public leaders to replace the hit-and-miss haphazard methods which have prevailed in the past.

Since the Government of the United States in its legislative, administrative, and executive branches is constantly dealing with matters of international consequence, study of the functioning of government in relation to international affairs and their effect upon the policies of government will of necessity become a part of the course of study in the National Institution of Public Affairs. Logically, therefore, this brief description of the program of the projected Institution has been included in this chapter on the study of International Relations.

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS

Publications of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College, and the publications of the Bureau of International Relations of the University of California, have been included in the description of organizations in universities which are concerned with research in international relations.¹² These bureaus are examples of the endowed institutions set up within universities for special purposes, which have already been referred to in the discussion of Foundations.¹³ Although directed by members of faculties in their respective universities, these bureaus are external to the regular course of instruction. For that reason their organization and other publications are not included in this chapter, which is descriptive of the course of study leading to graduate and undergraduate degrees; instead, research as represented by the doctoral dissertation is the only form of research in international relations included.

PUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS

The Library of Congress *List of American Doctoral Dissertations* in the social sciences has no subject division for international relations or international law; all titles are classified as History (except American), America, Social Sciences—comprising Sociology and Economics, and Political Science which includes International Law. There is also some

¹² Chapter III, pp. 114-116 and notes 32, 34.

¹³ Chapter I, pp. 36 f. and note 13.

slight repetition: a title may, for example, be listed under History, and Social Sciences, or under America, and Political Science; or a title may be listed elsewhere when it appears to belong to one of the many subdivisions of political science, as described in university courses of study. The chart on page 216 lists the printed dissertations which have been deposited with the Library of Congress, 1912-1930.¹⁴ The captions of that classification are used. Each of the first four double columns carries the total number of dissertations as well as the number of monographs on international relations since 1880, because it is as important to know the number in relation to the total as it is to know the number that touch contemporary affairs. Four supplementary columns have been included: one (the fifth) indicates the number of these subjects that are the work of Chinese and Japanese, who would naturally have an interest in contemporary international relationships of the Far East apart from the interest that is developing in the United States; the next (the sixth) column gives the number in International Law; another (the seventh) indicates how many deal with the League of Nations; the totals are recorded in the right-hand column.

Consideration of the data within the chart reveals that since 1925 there has been constant, and from 1927 through 1929, increased, publication in international law. This, of course, accounts in part for the increased number of published dissertations in political science. Beginning in 1917, but especially from 1920 on (with the exception of 1921) there has been a marked increase in the total number—both actually and relatively—of dissertations treating modern international relations. In 1925 and in 1927, for example, it was about one in ten, in 1928 it was one in eight. The universities to which these dissertations were presented, 1912-1930, are very well distributed geographically; they are listed on page 217.

To those who are great enthusiasts for study and research in international relations, the record in this chart may be discouraging. On the other hand, the limited number of dissertations on contemporary international affairs in comparison with the total number in all the social sciences, may be consoling to those who fear—because of the multiplicity of activities promoting the study of international relations set forth in this volume—that students and the American public have become disproportionately interested in the study of international relations.

It may be said, however, that this Library of Congress record is not

¹⁴ The latest list covers the year 1932.

PUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS IN MODERN HISTORY, IN SOCIAL SCIENCE, IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, AND IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

	<i>History (Except American)</i> (1)		<i>American</i> (2)		<i>Social Science</i> (3)		<i>Political Science</i> (4)		<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Japanese</i>	<i>Interna- tional Law</i>	<i>League of Nations</i>	<i>Totals</i> (8)	
	Total	Int. Rel.	Total	Int. Rel.	Total	Int. Rel.	Total	Int. Rel.	(5)	(6)	(7)		Total	Int. Rel.
1912	19	..	15	..	36	1	10	2	1	..	1	..	80	3
1913	6	..	10	..	18	..		1	..	..	1	..	53	1
1914	7	..	18	..	24	..		1	..	..	..	..	57	1
1915	12	1	9	..	37	..	12	1	..	..	..	..	70	2
1916	18	1	13	..	42	..	15	..	..	..	..	..	88	1
1917	16	1	16	1	37	1	11	..	..	..	..	..	80	3
1918	12	..	22	..	48	..	15	3	..	..	1	..	97	4
1919	14	1	20	..	31	2	17	..	2	..	..	..	82	3
1920	14	..	11	1	35	3	14	3	..	1	2	1	42	8
1921	27	1	20	3	42	..	12	1	1	..	..	..	101	5
1922	11	..	16	..	36	2	15	1	..	1	..	..	78	3
1923	10	2	11	..	42	4	14	2	1	..	1	..	77	8
1924	11	1	11	1	44	1	9	1	2	..	..	..	75	4
1925	8	2	10	1	76	1	16	2	2	..	1	..	110	6
1926	21	1	23	1	68	..	24	7	1	..	1	..	136	9
1927	14	2	17	1	61	1	20	7	1	..	3	1	112	11
1928	7	2	18	..	60	6	28	7	2	1	4	..	113	15
1929	9	2	24	1	73	2	21	5	..	1	3	2	127	10
1930	27	1	24	..	108	..	31	6	1	..	1	4	190	8

UNIVERSITIES WHICH HAVE ACCEPTED (1912-1930) DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS
TREATING MODERN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

UNIVERSITIES	Number of Dissertations	UNIVERSITIES	Number of Dissertations
University of California . . .	5	Johns Hopkins University . .	13
University of Chicago	1	University of Minnesota . . .	1
Clark University	5	New York University	1
Columbia University	39	Notre Dame University	1
Cornell University	1	Ohio State University	1
Duke University	1	University of Pennsylvania . .	14
Harvard University	4	Princeton University	2
University of Illinois	5	Stanford University	1
University of Indiana	1	University of Wisconsin . . .	4
University of Iowa	3	Yale University	1

complete, that only a few universities like Johns Hopkins and Columbia have insisted that all dissertations should be published. At Harvard University, for example, not all dissertations that have been accepted have been revised and published even though a degree has been granted on the merits of the unpublished monograph. Perusal of the titles of Harvard doctoral theses—published and unpublished—from 1873 through 1926 reveals that out of the 172 dissertations in history and government in the forty-seven years preceding 1927, three were in international law, one in 1877, two in 1918; and two (one in 1922, the other in 1924) touched twentieth-century international affairs. In economics, the official register lists 105 accepted dissertations: twelve of these, presented between 1897 and 1926, dealt with important studies touching international economic relations, ten being recorded between 1914 and 1916. The abstracts of accepted doctoral dissertations for 1930 through 1932, however, show that ten out of fifty-one studies in history and government, and six out of forty-four studies in economics, were on subjects of contemporary interest in international relations.

The record of the University of California for the last ten years is individual in part: in 1922, for instance, all four of the dissertations in political science concerned international relations, three of them treated affairs related to Asia or Asiatics. Yet in other recent years, in the history field, about one in seven has dealt with international relations. Moreover, the register of doctors of philosophy of the University of Chicago, published in 1931,¹⁵ which includes a number of doctoral dissertations not found in the Library of Congress list, reveals the following facts: out of eighty-eight economic studies, accepted between 1893

¹⁵ It is entitled *Announcements, Register Number, Doctors of Philosophy, 1893-1931*; it was published May 15, 1931.

and 1931, two were in very recent European economic history, and three in trade relations of the United States; there were one hundred and twenty-seven in history, but only four—two in 1928 and two in 1930—belonged to the twentieth century; there were forty-four in political science in the same interval, of which three out of six in 1926, and four out of eight in 1927, were related to neutrality, propaganda, diplomacy, reparations, or political status of the World-War period. Illustrations could be multiplied but in the end it would appear that when the records of individual universities are studied, and when unpublished as well as published dissertations are counted, the resultant impression or conclusion does not differ materially from that derived from the record of published dissertations deposited with the Library of Congress.

If lists of history dissertations in particular are studied, a few deductions are suggestive. In 1933, for example, of the thirty-nine dissertations in modern European history then in progress, two were concerned with international relations since the War, two with the Peace Conference, seven with affairs between 1900-1914, and ten dealt with international relations since 1870; the remaining eighteen were studies of events and relations preceding 1870. In 1923, of the fourteen then in preparation, one was concerned with neutral trade during the War, and two others were of contemporary interest—workers' education, and the internationalizing of European rivers; ten of the fourteen were studies of relations antedating 1870. In 1913, nine of the eleven dissertations then in preparation in modern history were projects in the study of international relations, but only one was investigating anything later than 1840; that one was entitled *American Governmental Interest in and Participation in European Affairs*.

Study of all the lists, year by year from 1902, when the first was assembled, only fills in the details of this framework, to the effect that the study of international relations is not new in the study of the history of modern Europe. What is new is the increased amount of study of contemporary international relations in recent years. After 1923 the number of studies in modern European history which related to the antecedents of the World War, to the Peace Treaty, and post-War conditions increased—and naturally so. Preceding the War in 1914 there had been nothing catastrophic since the French Revolution. The gradual triumph of parliamentary democracy in monarchical Europe which followed republicanism in France, remained a contemporary event until the events of the twentieth century came to challenge that

democracy. The events of the last thirty years of the nineteenth century—years which we might denominate “contemporary Europe” from the vantage point of 1900—did not attract the attention of the student of modern Europe as much as pre-Napoleonic Europe. After 1914 interest in contemporary events overshadowed interest in past events.

Tabulation of the lists of published dissertations in history, recorded in the *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at the Chief American Universities*,¹⁸ gives the following summary:

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PREPARATION

Year	Total Number Published	Number Dealing with International Relations
1913	35	0
1914	25	0
1915	31	3
1916	73	3
1917	36	1
1918	42	1
1919	29	1
1920	22	1
1921	40	5
1922	65	6
1923	40	5
1924	28	3
1925	32	4
1926	65	5
1927	54	9
1928	66	7
1929	55	4
1930	51	4
1931	76	10
1932	65	6
1933	65	11

Different as this list may appear from that of the Library of Congress, in general the deductions concerning study of international relations are very similar. Before 1921, one history dissertation in twenty dealt with recent international affairs; in 1921, one in eight; thereafter the proportion was variable, sometimes dropping, sometimes rising as in 1927 when it was as high as one in six. But one in ten in 1925 and one in eight in 1928 is the record of the Library of Congress bibliography.

The recorded titles of dissertations, however, reveal several matters of interest. Before the war in the general field of United States history

¹⁸ Issued by the Department of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, annually in December.

there were many careful studies in state history, or particular phases of our national development. Such studies had never been made before, they were needed and were especially valuable. Moreover, numerous prominent scholars and leaders in the present day developing interest in international relations were trained in this school of American history. In political science the same development has taken place, from detailed study of local government to the study of the technique of the international conference. Moreover, the great interpreters of the international diplomacy of the War received their training in the history of an earlier day.¹⁷ The earlier training prepared the way both in content and skill for the recent developments—the evolution of newer methods or techniques, and the correlation of disciplines in the study of contemporary international relations—which are taking place in the social sciences.

¹⁷ For example, Professor Sidney B. Fay, at Harvard, the author of *Origins of the World War* (in 2 vols., Macmillan, 1928), wrote his dissertation on *Fürstentum of 1785: a Study in German History*. Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt, the author of *The Coming of the War, 1914* (Scribner's Sons, 1917), took his doctorate on *British Policy and the Treaty of Berlin, 1878-1887*.

PART THREE

REGIONAL FIELDS OF STUDY AND
RESEARCH

CHAPTER X

EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

For the most part the study of International Relations, whether collegiate or popular, has meant, and still means, the study of international relations of Europe and with Europe. The study of relations with peoples and nations to the south or west or north of the United States, are usually specified as "Latin-American relations," "Far Eastern affairs," or "Canadian-American relations," almost in distinction from international relations generally.

The reason for this is obvious when it is remembered that the history that was studied in schools and colleges of the United States before 1900 was ancient history, medieval and modern European history, and American history. In spite of the China trade of American clipper ships, and the international penetration of China that provoked the Boxer uprising in 1900, any study of international relationships in China was quite the exception until the Russo-Japanese War attracted popular attention that was more than demands for rights and privileges, to the international complications in Asia. Likewise study of Hispanic America was an innovation that paralleled the economic penetration of the Caribbean by the United States after the Spanish-American War. For some time after the turn of the century, history departments continued to offer courses in the French Revolution, Europe to the Treaty of Westphalia, along with the Renaissance, the Protestant Reformation, and the like, as special fields of modern history. European history and European international relations continued, for the most part, to be treated as a world apart from historical developments in the Western Hemisphere and Asia until study of the Expansion of Europe correlated the colonial policies of the European countries. Indeed, one might venture the statement that study of the Expansion of Europe was the beginning of the study of International Relations in the modern sense. The expansion of Europe dealt first with colonization in the Western Hemisphere—the colonization of North America with the colonization of South America was presented as an European affair. In due time European colonial policies of the nineteenth century were treated in the same fashion, Australia and the Islands of the South Seas, Africa and

the Near East taking the place of the Western Hemisphere. The expansion of Europe of the late nineteenth century was generally known as Imperialism; later it was called Economic Imperialism. In the United States it was spoken of as European Imperialism, a designation which showed that we had something still to learn.

Nevertheless, in spite of this diversion of interest, the study of European history and European relations has remained in very fact in a world of its own with problems in infinite variety, owing to the wide differences in attitude and in policy of the many nations living in close proximity. Indeed, their problems, even in their rich diversity, appear to have an intimate similarity in distinction from the problems of India, China, or Japan. European countries—or “the West” in distinction from “the East”—are not only within a common geographic area but they have similar cultural inheritances, which, although diverse, are virtually one when compared with those of the Orient. The United States, because it drew most of its cultural and political heritage from European countries, and because relations of this country with European nations have affected its history from the beginning, belongs to that “West.”

Latin-American states and their international relations are likewise in a world quite different from the European world. In spite of certain European origins Latin America is a community of nations which for a century and more has been not only outside of Europe, but it has also been apart from the areas of European expansion. Latin America has developed in the Western Hemisphere where the United States has been the dominant nation. The relations, therefore, of the United States and Latin America are in very fact a regional field of study.

The westward expansion of the United States, especially since the middle of the nineteenth century, has touched the area of the Pacific. With the annexation of Hawaii and the Philippines, and with the acquisition of islands in the Pacific, the westward frontier of twentieth-century United States has touched the eastern frontiers of Asiatic countries. For that reason the civilizations and history of the peoples bordering the Pacific and the international relations of the nations within that area have become another regional field of study. Although study of the expansion of Europe may include trade invasion of Asia, that approach to the Far East does not normally include adequate study of the relations of the United States to that expansion and to Asia. The area of the Pacific has, therefore, become a very important regional field of study and research within the United States, for it is the part of the world where European expansion meets American

spheres of interest. Moreover, in that area are two challenging groups of people, the Chinese and the Japanese.

The third regional field of study, Canadian-American relations, is the newest. Canada, belonging to the Western Hemisphere, has been, like the United States, a part of the expansion of Europe. Its own frontier, like that of the United States, borders upon the Pacific Ocean. Unlike the United States, it is officially attached to Europe, both as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations and as a member of the League of Nations. Its economic life, however, is so much entangled with that of the United States that Canada is the final link in the chain of international relations that bind the United States to the whole world. Even though Canadian-American relations is the newest regional field of study and research it may in the end become the most important.

Nevertheless, the tendency to think of international relations as predominantly European has continued to the present, and is likely to continue in the future. This is particularly due to the fact that it was the World War, an European phenomenon, which was chiefly responsible for awakening American interest in the scientific study of the dealings and relationships of America with the outside world and of the other nations among themselves. The attempt made in the years following the World War to dissociate the United States from European questions was never successful in academic and intellectual circles. Indeed, the very failure to take positive political action may have strengthened the interest in the unsolved and challenging problems of the day. Moreover, there were at least two subjects of major European interest from which it proved impossible for America to remain aloof: the problems connected with the furtherance or maintenance of international peace, and those connected with international economics and finance. Study of European international relations, however, has not been delimited by the avowed aloofness of American foreign policy. Instead, the study of contemporary European international relations in their varied aspects, including financial and trade regulations, and League of Nations associations and functioning, have become the study of world interrelationships. In consequence, the study of contemporary European international relations has become more than a regional study, in fact, it has become a discipline of study. The process of that development has been described in the preceding chapter. From the standpoint of the United States, however, relationships with Latin America, the Pacific area, and Canada, which have been less studied than European affairs, remain specifically "regional fields of study and research."

CHAPTER XI

THE PACIFIC AREA

IMPORTANCE OF FAR EASTERN STUDIES

THE United States has had active contacts with the Far East for a century and a half. Its interests and those of its "nationals" in the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean and in the islands of that ocean have developed rapidly in recent decades and today are of great importance. If there can be any certainty as to the future, it is that relations across the Pacific Ocean will be even more important to the United States than they have been or now are. In these circumstances it is evident that Americans need to have the fullest possible understanding of the problems of international relations which arise in the Pacific area. Toward this end there should be fully adequate scholarly study of conditions in the different Pacific countries, and of the facts and circumstances pertinent to relations across the Pacific. There also should be adequate general dissemination of the information compiled by the scholarly researches in order to develop popular understanding of what it means to the United States to occupy so important a place on the borders of the Pacific Ocean.

Yet even a cursory review of the work that has been done in the study of Pacific problems shows that scholarly interest in this field is of relatively recent development and that this interest still is far less than adequate to meet the needs. Among the professional scholars in the United States there still are some who are inclined to look upon the civilization of the Orient as belonging to a dead past instead of as the living culture within which a large part of the population of the earth functions. Other scholars are so wrapped up in the problems of acquainting American youth with the roots of American civilization in European history that they find it difficult to see beyond the Mesopotamian Valley or across the Pacific to the great lands which lie there. There has been, however, in recent years a distinct increase in the interest of American scholars in problems centering around the Pacific.

One of the important results of this new development of interest has

been the realization of the urgent need to lay foundations for more and sounder scholarship in relation to the Pacific for the future than there is today. The task of laying such foundations really is twofold: a nucleus of students sufficiently informed and interested to be led on to further specialized study must be developed before there can be advanced research in specific subjects relating to the Pacific area or the history of present problems of specific peoples. On the other hand a more widespread intelligent appreciation of the nature of the problems must be created—for scientific study rarely flourishes unless the ground is prepared by an appreciation of the importance of the problems which are being considered. The situation has been well put by Mr. Mortimer Graves, Secretary of the Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, in a recent memorandum.

American contributions [said Mr. Graves] in the higher reaches of Oriental scholarship can be but slight for another decade. An American personnel capable of making such contributions is, but for a few noteworthy exceptions who can be counted on the fingers of a hand, non-existent. . . . Obviously we must attract brilliant young men into the field and keep them there until they are scholars. But this takes years. . . . We make no attempt here to prove that humanistic, or other, studies are valuable only as they are reflected in the thinking of a whole people, but we do feel that in the case of Far Eastern studies the firmest foundation for American scholarship will be a widespread and intelligent American interest in the Far East. . . . An American contribution made at the pre- or sub-research level can go hand in hand with the creation of a next generation of research personnel, indeed, would be an important factor in the creation and employment of that personnel. It can make use of such American scholarship as there is and at the same time facilitate the attraction of a large number of students into this promising field.

In order more specifically to encourage younger scholars to interest themselves in Far Eastern and Pacific subjects the Committee for the Promotion of Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies prepared a symposium on *Careers Open to American Students of Chinese Language and Civilization* which has been published by the Institute of Pacific Relations.¹ The contributors point out that "the young American who specializes in Chinese language or some phase of Chinese civilization adds to his equipment a competency that promises to become more and more rewarding as the years go on because of the

¹ Dr. Lewis Hodous, ed., *Careers for Students of Chinese Language and Civilization*. University of Chicago Press, 1933.

increasing recognition, in many areas of our national life, of the need for such equipment."

AGENCIES ENCOURAGING AND COORDINATING RESEARCH

Moreover, leaders in the various disciplines—the social sciences, the humanities, the natural sciences—who have felt the need for the development and utilization of scholarship for the understanding of problems of the Pacific, have set up organizations with the particular purpose of coordinating activities in the study of the region of the Pacific.

INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

In the social sciences the Institute of Pacific Relations² has come to be the one outstanding organization which concerns itself with the coordination of research in the Pacific area—not only by Americans, but also by the "nationals" of other countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. The Institute also has developed through its conferences and particularly through the round table discussions at these gatherings a method for securing the consideration from many varied points of view of the results of research work which serves as an important bridge between the specialized studies of the scholars and the more popular dissemination of information. Furthermore the Institute has published a very substantial volume of material consisting of "data papers" which are prepared for the conferences and of volumes of more thorough-going studies. In these ways the Institute serves two distinct but inter-related needs: (1) the integration of research with conference and education in such a way that both the problems taken up and the interpretation of the findings relate intimately to the concerns of groups which are not themselves primarily devoted to scientific study; (2) the collaboration of groups in each of the principal Pacific countries so as to secure the benefit of the contribution which each can make to the study of the common problems.

The Institute of Pacific Relations is an entirely unofficial international body established to promote the cooperative study of the relations between the various countries located in, or with interests in, the Pacific area. It had its start as a result of a conference held in Honolulu

² The Institute of Pacific Relations is not to be confused with another international body, likewise with headquarters at Honolulu, the Pan Pacific Union. The Union, which is older than the Institute, has given encouragement to international Pacific organizations for research but does not, itself, carry on a regular program in that field, rather it provides opportunities for international acquaintance and exchange.

in 1925 which was attended by scholars from several of the Pacific countries who were interested in developing an organization for co-ordinating the research work which was being done. Since then the Institute has had conferences every two years—in 1927 in Honolulu, in 1929 in Kyoto, in 1931 in Shanghai and Hangchow, and in 1933 in Banff. From the beginning the Institute has scrupulously refrained from corporate expressions of opinion. It has concentrated on the discussion of the facts bearing on specific problems. The Institute's governing body is the Pacific Council which is made up of one representative from each of the recognized National Councils of the Institute of Pacific Relations in the several Pacific countries. The United States is represented through the American Council; Great Britain through the Royal Institute of International Affairs; similar organizations, in most cases formed specifically in relation to the Institute (like the American Council), exist in Australia, Canada, China, Japan, New Zealand, the Philippines, and Soviet Russia. Each of these national councils is an autonomous body. Cooperation in the planning and carrying out of studies is secured through the participation of representatives of the several national councils, in the biennial conferences, and through the coordinating activities of the Research Committee of the Institute. The headquarters of the central Institute organization are located in Honolulu.

The American Council of the Institute is that part of the entire organization which is directly concerned with the study in the United States of Pacific questions. Yet the work of this council dovetails very closely into that of the Institute as a whole as well as into that of the other National Councils. The American Council has a Research Committee and a Research Staff of its own but a very large part of the work of this committee and staff relates to the international research program of the Institute as a whole and to preparation for effective participation in the Institute Conferences. Neither the American Council nor the Institute itself carries on any very large amount of research study; the function of these bodies in relation to research is primarily that of planning or integrating the work of other organizations.

The necessity for this kind of cooperation in the study of Pacific problems is well illustrated by the experience with regard to the study of migration. This question came up at one of the first conferences of the Institute and an American study of Japanese immigration was initiated. It very soon became clear, however, that this study alone would not be adequate because it easily might fail to take sufficiently

into account both the population pressure in Japan, which causes the emigration from that country, and the immigration policies of other Pacific countries which direct Japanese migration into a limited number of channels. Only a series of concerted studies carried on in different countries could produce a complete picture of the situation with regard to migration in the Pacific and so make it possible for national policies to be formulated with an understanding of all issues involved.

The success of the Institute of Pacific Relations in developing a technique of conference and research adapted to dealing with large scale international problems has been so great that it is considered worth while to include in this survey a special discussion of the conference and research efforts of the Institute, which forms the latter part of this chapter.³

While the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations has come to be the principal coordinating body in the United States for the study of Pacific subjects, it is, of course, not the only organization interested in this work. A number of other institutions carry on research in the Pacific: in some cases these studies are initiated and carried through independently of any connection with, or suggestion from, the Institute; in others, at the suggestion of the Institute, plans which were made for research studies have been amended so that the work done might fit better into a general program on which organizations in other countries were engaged. The American Council of the Institute, however, makes no attempt to dictate to other organizations the lines along which their studies in the Pacific shall be directed; it conceives of its function in relation to other organizations simply as that of a body which is ready to offer suggestions and advice in planning work, where such suggestions and advice are desired, and to provide contacts with research activities elsewhere.

Most of the special organizations that are carrying on research in international relations and foreign affairs, have undertaken studies which fall entirely or partially within the Pacific area. The results of these studies form an important part of the authoritative information which is utilized in the conferences and other discussions of the Institute of Pacific Relations even though the studies themselves are initiated independently of the Institute. Several of the studies under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research, for example, are specifically related to Pacific subjects. A number of the *Reports* of the Foreign Policy Association have been on problems in the Pacific. The Council

³ Cf. pp. 248 ff.

on Foreign Relations has published a special study of the mineral resources of the Far East and the possibilities of industrial development there, by H. Foster Bain.⁴ The American Geographical Society has been keenly interested in the frontier situation in Manchuria and Mongolia and has published a study of famines in China by Walter H. Mallory.⁵ The Food Research Institute in its "Wheat Studies" and its "Fats and Oils Studies" treats of conditions in the Pacific countries. The Brookings Institution has published a study of the international control of raw materials which takes up questions bearing on the Pacific,⁶ as well as the study of the economic financial situation in Japan by Dr. H. G. Moulton.⁷ The National Industrial Conference Board, the Institute of International Finance, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and other similar commercial or semicommercial organizations have likewise brought the Pacific within the scope of their studies.

COMMITTEES ON FAR EASTERN STUDIES OF THE COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

As part of an activity in stimulating American participation in underworked fields of research, the American Council of Learned Societies has been laying considerable emphasis on the need for the development in the United States of more adequate scholarship in relation to the Orient. It established, some time ago, committees for the promotion of Chinese and of Japanese studies. These bodies recently have been active in surveying the progress of Chinese and Japanese studies in American colleges and universities, in sponsoring investigations of the researches in the United States for study in this field, in holding conferences and providing scholarships and in other ways stimulating, both within and without the institutions of learning, activities designed to develop the study of Oriental questions.

Of late these committees have become concerned also in no small degree with the attraction of promising students to the field of Chinese and Japanese studies. Experience had shown that it did not suffice to provide, on the one hand, for general courses in Far Eastern studies and, on the other, for specialized research of a high order; there must also be provided opportunities for apprenticeship. Research positions are not commonly open for those who, while majoring in Sinology or

⁴ *Ores and Industry in the Far East*; also cf. p. 101.

⁵ *China: Land of Famine*.

⁶ B. B. Wallace and Lynn Ramsay Edminster, *International Control of Raw Materials*.

⁷ *Japan, an Economic and Financial Appraisal*.

Japanology, have at the same time been obliged to earn their living in some wholly unrelated field. Hence, there was much agreement, at a recent conference, organized and sponsored by the committees, with a proposal that projects be advanced as rapidly as possible which would engage a number of these promising graduates in preprofessional work, also valuable for its own sake—including, for example, the compilation of materials for a Chinese biographical dictionary, for chronologies, and the like.

As an outstanding enterprise concerned with cross-fertilization of ideas, East and West, special mention may here be made of the Harvard-Yenching Institute which, after years of experience with individual exchanges of teachers and lecturers, inaugurated in 1932, with the aid of the Far Eastern Committees of the American Council of Learned Societies a most successful Seminar in Far Eastern studies⁸ in connection with the Summer School at Harvard University. Its main purpose was to give teachers of Far Eastern subjects in this country a richer background of information, historical and cultural, as well as wider knowledge of the literature and art of the Orient. The Second Summer Seminar in Far Eastern Studies, planned for 1934, is to meet at the University of California, in Berkeley.

In 1933 the Committees for the Promotion of Chinese and Japanese Studies of the Council of Learned Societies, secured through the Council generous provision for one year of a training center in Far Eastern studies in the Library of Congress. Two or more fellows will work with Chinese and Japanese clerical and stenographic assistance, under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, chief of the Division of Orientalia. The first enterprise will have for its aim *Contributions toward a Biographical Dictionary of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644-1911)*. The enterprise has already been set up as "Project G" of the Library of Congress.

As first steps toward filling the obvious need for published translations of Far Eastern source materials the Committees have secured modest funds for the publication of such translations as may be made by American scholars. They are also compiling for early publication bibliographical lists of translations already published. In addition, they have planned, financed for three years and begun an experimental enterprise in the translation of a selected section of the Dynastic Histories of China, one of the most imposing bodies of historical documentation in the world.

⁸ Described at length in *Pacific Affairs*, for December, 1932 (V-12), pp. 1072-1078.

The Committees have also planned a series of annual volumes beginning in 1934, which are intended to afford a publication outlet for the best monographs, provided by American scholars, that are too long for inclusion in learned journals on Oriental subjects. During 1933 a small booklet, published by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, entitled *Careers for Students of Chinese Language and Civilization*, was gathered by the Committee for the Promotion of Chinese Studies, and edited by a subcommittee headed by Dr. Lewis Hodous. Bibliographies of selected Japanese works on Sino-Japanese relations and Chinese art are being translated and annotated with a view to publication in the near future. Meanwhile Mr. Charles Sidney Gardner's *Survey of Materials and Facilities for Chinese Studies* is being published.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIETIES AND FOUNDATIONS

Students in the field of the natural sciences have developed a special organization to coordinate studies of questions arising in the Pacific area. This is the Pacific Science Association, the American branch of which is the Committee on Pacific Investigations of the National Research Council.⁹ This Pacific Science Association grew out of the earlier Institute of Natural Scientists in several of the Pacific countries. It was organized as the result of a meeting in Honolulu in 1920 which was held on the invitation of the Pan Pacific Union and under the patronage of the Bishop Museum. Dr. Herbert E. Gregory, Director of the Museum, who took a leading part in the establishment of the Association, is chairman of the Committee on Pacific investigations of the National Research Council. The Pacific Science Association has held congresses at three year intervals since its organization. The Council of the Association includes the representatives of fourteen scientific organizations in as many countries bordering on or interested in the Pacific.

The medical men in the Pacific area likewise have developed their own special organization. This is the Association of Tropical Medicine which meets annually and includes in its membership most of the medical scientists specially concerned with the Pacific.

More detailed discussion of the cooperative work in the natural sciences in the Pacific field would, of course, bring into vivid relief the remarkable extent of the development of both formal international cooperation and of the informal cooperation of research institutions in the several countries. A survey of such activities, including the work

⁹ Cf. pp. 45-46.

of the League of Nations Health Organization, would involve special studies in half a dozen Pacific lands in which the "nationals" of as many different countries cooperate. Moreover, the data collected by the Bureau of Research of the University of Manila, by the Chinese Geological Survey, by the School of Tropical Agriculture at the University of Hawaii and by the Siccawei Observatory of Shanghai have become through their publications part of the general fund of international intellectual property. On the side of the natural sciences, as well as of the social sciences, the scientific workers of the countries bordering on, or interested in, the Pacific have become to a very substantial degree members of an international community in which there is close and active cooperation.

Since the picture just presented of American research activities concerning the Pacific area may seem to reflect a great diversity, not to say confusion, of purposes, it is important to add that the conferences of important scientific organizations more and more endeavor to correct this situation. Such bodies as the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies have repeatedly placed on their agendas a thorough consideration of the steps necessary for coordinating the interests of their individual members, particularly with reference to specific areas, such as the Pacific. A general review, limited to China, has been made by Mr. Grover Clark for the Division of International Relations of the Social Science Research Council. The American Historical Association has formed a Far Eastern subcommittee; and the American Sociological Society considered the subject of Occidental-Oriental cultural relations as part of its program at their 1933 meeting.

In the Pacific area, the Social Science Research Council, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation and other organizations have aided the research and other work of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Some of the Foundations touch the Pacific through other agencies which incidentally engage in research, thus, for example, the Rockefeller Foundation aids medical research in the Pacific through hospitals and other institutions; the Milbank Foundation is interesting itself in the public-health studies of the Chinese mass-education movement; the Rosenwald Fund is carrying on educational studies in different parts of the Pacific; national and international religious organizations that operate in the Pacific area have been aided by the Foundations to subject their own functioning to thorough scientific analyses.

FELLOWSHIPS

In another recognized method of advancing research, that is, in the award of research fellowships, the Foundations have not as yet been able to make as much progress so far as the Pacific is concerned. The interrelation between education and research is particularly evident in the distribution of subjects and areas in which research fellows elect to apply such grants as are regularly made by or through the Social Science Research Council, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, the National Research Council, the Institute of International Education, the American Association of University Women, the American Council of Learned Societies, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and several other fellowship funds devoted to American study abroad.

In 1931, the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations published the results of a survey of the fellowships granted in the previous ten years, to discover the part which study in the Pacific area had played in them. It was shown that out of 3,473 fellowship awards made in the previous ten years for American study abroad, only forty-four, or 1.27 percent, had been used for research in the Pacific area or in subjects pertaining to any part of that area.¹⁰ Partly as a result of this statistical showing, a number of institutions, foundations, and organizations interested in social science are now devoting increasing attention to this neglected area.

One notable exception of a fellowship grant for study in Asia instead of Europe was that to Owen Lattimore, beginning in 1929, by the Social Science Research Council. It was followed and supplemented by grants from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, and the American Geographical Society. Together the fellowships and grants made possible extensive research, on the frontier of China from the Pacific to Chinese Central Asia and Tibet, which continued until 1933. Two of the volumes resulting, which concern Manchuria, are invaluable interpretations of important factors which are influencing the developments in that area; they are: *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*¹¹ and the *Mongols of Manchuria*.¹²

¹⁰ E. C. Carter, *American Research Fellowships on the Far East*. University of Chicago Press, 1931.

¹¹ The Macmillan Co., 1932.

¹² The John Day Co., 1934.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY COURSES

One of the important consequences of the fact that American scholars only recently have begun to take more than a very casual interest in subjects pertaining to the Pacific has been the failure of the universities and colleges to include more than a very few courses on such subjects in their curricula. Curiously enough interest in Far Eastern subjects has been greater in the schools and universities in the Atlantic half than in the Pacific half of the United States until very recently. The educational institutions in eastern and western states alike, however, are still deeply preoccupied with studies in the European field, so that, to quote Dr. H. F. MacNair:

Until recently one could list on the fingers of one hand the colleges and universities in the United States which were making any intelligent attempt to acquaint even a small percentage of their students with the cultures and the problems of modern Asia. The idea appears to have been current that Alexander's conquests constituted a death blow to what little culture may have flourished on that continent prior to his rule. Civilization in the Far East in particular was all but ignored by American college students.

While no study has as yet been made concerning the extent to which, and the ways in which, Pacific subjects enter into the teaching of a great variety of subjects in our universities and colleges, it would be possible to quote many authorities to the effect that as yet the vast potential contributions of the Pacific area, of the Far East particularly, to all social studies—psychology and sociology no less, for example, than history and political science—remain unrealized. To quote Professor William Heard Kilpatrick:

A majority of the students in our colleges may yet go out into life with no just conception of how much civilization has at stake in the changes now taking place in the Orient. True, many courses in contemporary civilization and other orientation courses are rendering even greater service than are many courses here listed. But, when all is said, too many of our institutions are still, in effect, distressingly blind to the Pacific problem.

In 1929 the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations made a study of the courses which were being offered in American colleges dealing with China and Japan. The results of this study were summarized in the general conclusion that of 546 accredited institutions

of higher learning 111 reported courses while 332 had no courses majoring on these two countries.¹³

In 1931, Professor Eldon Griffin, writing for the Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies reported during the intervening two years a gain of twenty institutions with such courses, increasing their total number to 131; and an increase of ninety-two in the number of courses given, more than 281 reported in 1929, making a total of 373.¹⁴

It is noteworthy that the greatest gain in the number of new courses is reported in institutions which already previously went farthest in specializing on the Far East. Thus Professor Griffin, in 1931, reported additional courses in four of the five universities previously reported as having more than eleven such courses—the largest additions being those of the Universities of California and of Washington, which previously had twenty-five and twenty-six courses respectively. The other institutions that lead in the number of courses are: Harvard, Columbia, and Stanford Universities, Radcliffe College, and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Chicago and Minnesota.

In subject matter, likewise, the most substantial additions in recent years have been made to the teaching of subjects previously receiving the greatest amount of attention. Of the ninety-two new courses, forty-six deal with history and political science which, in 1929, made up 54 percent of the total number of courses. Since the courses are described in detail in the two publications named, it is not necessary to repeat here. Suffice it to say that the two studies have served to implement educators interested in the Far East, who heretofore were without such data, for pressing the claims of the Far East on university authorities.

One way of stimulating the adoption of courses dealing with Far Eastern and other Pacific subjects is the supply of more adequate materials. To this task an increasing number of university presses and other publishers are addressing themselves, so that today at least the broader outlines of these subjects are, in most cases, available in readily usable form. Occasionally additional help is needed to show teachers new in this field how the literature on the subject in hand may be brought into the general outlines of classroom units.¹⁵

¹³ In *China and Japan in Our University Curricula*. Ed. by E. C. Carter. University of Chicago Press, 1930.

¹⁴ *Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States of America*. American Council of Learned Societies, 1931.

¹⁵ See, for example, Harold S. Quigley, *An Introductory Syllabus on Far Eastern Diplomacy*. University of Chicago Press, 1931.

LIBRARIES AND MUSEUMS

Few of the large university and other libraries in the United States contain important collections of original documentary material in the Pacific and Far Eastern fields. The largest and most comprehensive of these collections is that in the Library of Congress in Washington. The New York City Public Library also has important collections of Chinese and Japanese materials. Columbia University, Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and the University of California also are reasonably well equipped in this respect. The other universities and colleges, however, a preliminary inquiry by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations shows, are regrettably deficient particularly in original Chinese and Japanese documents made available to American students through translation. This last criticism also applies to a considerable extent to the collections in the large libraries already mentioned. Indeed all projects for study of Pacific problems in the United States suffer from the lack of facilities for acquiring familiarity with the current literature of the Far Eastern countries.

A comprehensive study of the Far East in American libraries and museums sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies is under way. This promises to indicate the extent to which the recent increase in both student and general interest has been matched by a corresponding increase in the supply of authoritative material of Far Eastern and Pacific subjects.

The part which museum collections might play in study and in the dissemination of information has been interpreted from two different points of view. Some collections are built up and arranged for the purpose of providing the most complete and useful facilities for highly trained scholars. Others are designed and used with the idea of making as widely available as possible the educational usefulness of the collections. The museum collections relating to the Pacific area have been made from both these points of view. Each type of collection is of great value as has been shown in a study of museum collections of Far Eastern material made by Mr. Benjamin March.¹⁶

Certain of the great museums like the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., have gathered large collec-

¹⁶ *China and Japan in Our Museums*. University of Chicago Press, 1929; and *Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States of America*. American Council of Learned Societies, 1931.

tions of Chinese, Japanese, and other Pacific material and are the centers for important scholarly study of this material. The Fogg Art Museum at Harvard has been specially interested in this field. Some of the smaller museums have come to recognize that it is possible to secure significant examples of Far Eastern material without the expenditure of large sums of money. They have found, too, that this material can be used with much effectiveness in educating the people generally along the lines of an understanding of the Far Eastern countries. Both the large and the small museums in the last few years have developed to a remarkable extent the technique of the use of museum material for public education through special exhibitions, new methods of installation and of interpretation.¹⁷

LANGUAGE

The problem of languages is a serious one for those interested in the development of studies of Oriental subjects. One aspect of this problem is that of the acquiring of a working knowledge of the ideographic languages of China and Japan by students in American schools. Some small start towards meeting this problem has been made in several universities such as Columbia University, Harvard University, University of California and the University of Hawaii. As yet, however, the opportunities in the American colleges and universities for acquiring a working reading knowledge of Chinese or Japanese are very limited.

Another stumbling block in the way of the development of American scholarship in the Far Eastern field has been the fact that a knowledge of Far Eastern languages has not been accepted as part of the college entrance requirements. In the American schools in China and Japan there are and have been approximately 1,600 promising young Americans preparing year by year for entrance to American colleges and universities. The limitations of the College Board examinations, however have tended to discourage these students from studying Chinese or Japanese though the circumstances in which they are placed are almost ideal for acquiring a knowledge of the written, as well as of the spoken, languages. In part, as a result of studies made by the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations which were published in 1931,¹⁸ the Association of American Colleges in 1932 passed a resolution to this effect: (1) that two or more units of Chinese or Japanese

¹⁷ Cf. Museum Section, p. 73 and n. 19.

¹⁸ E. C. Carter, *College Entrance Credit in Chinese and Japanese for Occidental Students*. University of Chicago Press, 1931.

be included in the list of subjects accepted for college admission; (2) that each college approving this recommendation indicate in its catalogue the manner in which these units will be accepted.

There has already been a gratifying liberalization of entrance requirements in the direction indicated; but the introduction of this reform in some institutions is still waiting for the working out of practical plans concerning uniform standard tests and their application.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

While doctoral dissertations are not always highly regarded as original contributions to knowledge, the experience has been that in Pacific research the interest engendered by such initial studies often has been carried into later life and been the starting point for more thorough and extended research. A compilation of the number of doctoral dissertations shows an encouraging proportion devoted to the Pacific area; it has risen from 2.54 percent in 1912 to 7.8 percent in 1932. While the number is still small—twenty-nine out of a total of 372—these findings at least show that the addition of courses in Far Eastern history to college and university curricula in recent years is already bearing fruit in specialized scholarship. In the field of current politics and government the number of dissertations relating to the Pacific has grown from one in 1912 and none in 1914, to eleven in 1930 and fourteen in 1932.

A random collection of reports from different colleges and universities containing the titles of theses submitted or under way indicates that these cover a great variety of subjects, evidently portraying more the personal interests of teachers and graduate students than any concerted attack upon outstanding problems. A few of these titles may here be mentioned to illustrate their variety: American-Hawaiian Economic Relations, American Influences upon Chinese Reform Movements, Chinese and the International Consortium, China in the League of Nations, the Control of Foreign Relations in Japan, Diplomatic Relations between China and Russia, Economic Aspects of the Mandate System, Economic Effects of Boycotts, Industrialization in the Far East, Japan's Jurisdiction and International Legal Position in Manchuria, Leased Areas and Concessions in China with Special Reference to their Retrocession, and the Status of Leased Territories in China in International Law.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Efforts and influences such as those which have just been described have become necessary to supplement the neglect of American public education to give the Pacific area that prominence in social studies which it deserves from the point of view of the strength and character of Pacific influences on American contemporary life. A recent preliminary study of the extent to which the Pacific area—and especially the countries of the Far East—enters into the content of American high-school textbooks made for the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations revealed:

An exceedingly small amount of space devoted to the Far East, considering the intrinsic importance of that area from every point of view. Even in books specifically demanding more attention to the Orient, not even a remotely adequate amount of information is given to meet that purpose.

In the geography textbooks, evidence of anti-Oriental prejudice are rare; but so are evidences of positive appreciation for the characteristics of Oriental peoples and civilizations. Ethnic descriptions are colorless or follow the uninformed traditions of an era without intimate contacts. Lack of authentic information leads to an exaggerated estimate, in several of the geography texts, of the mineral resources of China and of population pressure in Japan.

In the American histories, relations with the Far East before the Spanish War, or at least before the opening up of Japan by Commodore Perry, are left unmentioned. In all but one of these books, American friendship for China is stressed, while in several Japan is pictured as a rival in our Chinese trade.

The world histories are particularly faulty as to the allotment of space in that they are supposed to give an objective survey of world events. In most of them the peoples and countries of the Far East are barely mentioned in the ancient and medieval sections—and then only in so far as they had relations with Europe. The telescoping of centuries into a few paragraphs provides no opportunity for visualizing any particular period of Oriental history or any particular sequence of events. Picturesque details are stressed sometimes at the expense of more revealing cultural data. Accounts of modern political history in the Far East are, on the whole, objective.

The civics textbooks for Junior High Schools, although they stress social interdependence and the advantages of cooperation, rarely recognize American international interdependence. Foreign nations are viewed primarily as potential sources of immigration; and in several cases the only reference to Orientals is their undesirability as immigrants, and the legislation passed upon that premise.

The economics books used in high schools are quite elementary and hardly

mention international trade as a factor in our national life. Illustrative references to China or Japan are rare and sometimes uninformed.

The main charge that might be made against the sample collection of textbooks as a whole, apart from their uniform failure to do justice to the rapidly increasing interests of America in the Far East, as regards allotment of space, is—partly because of this brevity—the uninteresting generalization of geographical, ethnic, and historical data that could be presented with vividness and charm.¹⁹

Several efforts are under way to correct this situation. In California, a group of educators led by Dr. John A. Hockett of the University of California, Dr. Reginald Bell of Stanford University, and Dr. Don R. Nugent of Menlo Junior College, with a small grant from the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, are carrying on an extensive experiment in introducing unit courses in Pacific relations into the high schools and junior colleges of that state. The State Curriculum Revision Committee and the State Superintendent of Schools are co-operating; and the University of California has announced that henceforth it will accept credits in Pacific relations in part fulfillment of its entrance requirements. Independently of this effort, individual schools, such as the Oakland Technical High School, already have introduced into their curricula elective courses on Pacific relations or Pacific history for senior students.

In Hawaii, curriculum revision in the direction of greater attention to the Pacific through the official channels of the public school system is being reenforced by the effort of an unofficial education committee of the Hawaii group of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Outlines prepared by outstanding teachers in the Islands have been circulated for experimental use; through radio broadcasts and the dissemination of materials, the committee has endeavored to make the schools of the Territory a single experiment station for bringing the Pacific and its varied interests prominently into primary and secondary education.

Other groups of teachers have met in Chicago and New York to consider first steps in the same direction—involving, that is, both curriculum revision and a more adequate supply of teaching materials on the countries and peoples of the Pacific.

Through close cooperation between Teachers College, Columbia Uni-

¹⁹ See also the references to the countries of the Far East in *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, by Bessie Louise Pierce. University of Chicago Press, 1930.

versity, and Nankai University, Tientsin, it has recently been possible for Dr. Harold O. Rugg, of Teachers College, to collect materials which will help to meet the need for a fresh approach to Chinese culture. Other American educators, likewise, have been busy collecting such new material in the Far East and in other parts of the Pacific area. Moreover, the American Council on Education manifested its interest by devoting a session of its Summer Conference, in 1933, to the discussion of Pacific Relations in American Education.

On the methodological aspects of the problem the American public school system is indebted in no small degree to those private progressive schools which have successfully pioneered in recent years with experiments to bring the cultures of the Orient close to the understanding of American children. Brief mention, in this connection, should be made also of the pioneer efforts of certain museums and public libraries—notable among them the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Newark Museum and Public Library—in showing thousands of public school teachers how visual and tactile instruction can be used to supplement classroom teaching on the geography, history, and cultures of Pacific peoples.

TEACHER AND STUDENT EXCHANGE

The exchange of teachers and of students between countries is of particular value in developing interest in the study of international relations as well as in the study itself. There has been some exchange of teachers between the United States and countries in the Far East which has proved of substantial value. Chinese and Japanese scholars, from time to time, have taught at American colleges and universities and have given special courses and Foundation lectures. Provisions have been made for the regular presence at Columbia, Harvard and California, among other universities, of Chinese or Japanese (or both) teachers. A number of American professors have visited the Far East and taught in Chinese or Japanese schools. This practice of getting Western professors began in both China and Japan before the end of the nineteenth century, and American educators have played a prominent part in the development of modern education in both these countries. Among these educators particular mention should be made of Dr. John Dewey, Dr. Paul Monroe, and Dr. W. H. Kilpatrick, whose influence on educational development in China particularly has been profound. Hitherto, many more teachers have gone from America to the Far Eastern countries than have come from those countries to the

United States, so that the "exchange" has been regrettably one-sided. The explanation is, in part, that Oriental countries feel themselves more in need of the technical resources that American teachers can bring to them than America feels itself in need of the insights and experiences of the great civilizations of the East. Unfortunately, no figures are available to indicate the nature or trend of this form of exchange.

As regards student exchange, the situation is reversed. While the large attendance of Oriental students at American colleges and universities is usually considered from the point of view of its effect upon education and scholarship in their home countries as, for example, in the recent *Report of the League of Nations Mission of Educational Experts on the Reorganization of Education in China*, the contributions of these students to the life of our American institutions is often overlooked.

According to the Institute of International Education, there has been a decrease in the number of Oriental students enrolled in American colleges and universities during recent years. Nevertheless, this number still is larger than the combined figure for Europeans.²⁰

ORIENTAL STUDENTS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>Highest Number</i>	<i>1921-1922</i>	<i>1931-1932</i>
China	'24-'25 1,561	1,255	1,105
Japan	'30-'31 987	532	891
Philippines	'28-'29 1,073	594	642
Korea	'28-'29 149	68	119
Siam	'22-'23 43	34	24
Total all foreign students	'30-'31 9,961	6,488	8,688
Total Oriental students .....	.....	2,483	2,781
Percent of all foreign students .....	.....	36.7	33.3
Total European students .....	.....	1,569	2,450
Percent of all foreign students .....	.....	24.2	28.2

In the above table, only *bona fide* foreign students are counted—those who have come for the express purpose of pursuing courses in United States institutions of higher learning.

What part the nearly three thousand Oriental students are playing in the American effort to secure a fuller understanding of the Far East and its problems is not, of course, indicated by these figures. Through student organizations, summer institutes, and particularly through the

²⁰ Institute of International Education, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, October, 1932.

International Houses at New York, Chicago and San Francisco, more of these students now than in the past enter into relationships with American students, that are not only helpful to themselves but also contribute directness and intimacy to the feeling for the Far East and its problems, which classroom lecturing alone cannot give.

The Institute of Oriental Students at Chicago has gone further than most student organizations in developing programs of language and social studies for selected groups of Oriental and American students.

AGENCIES FOR DEVELOPING GENERAL INTEREST

Most American adults learn something about the Pacific countries and peoples and about American relations with them from their reading of newspapers and magazines, from listening to radio broadcasts, from watching moving pictures, or from acquaintance with Orientals resident in this country. In order to supplement such casual education in affairs of the Pacific area more specific and deliberate educational efforts are being put forth by a number of primarily non-academic organizations which have as their chief purpose the stimulation of interest in countries and peoples of the Pacific area. Among these are: the American Asiatic Association, and American Oriental Society of New York; China Club of Seattle, China Institute of New York, China Societies of New York and San Francisco, and Chinese Roerich Association of New York; Conference on Far Eastern Studies, New Haven; Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, New York; East Asiatic Society of Boston, Japan Societies of New York, Boston, San Francisco, Seattle, and New Orleans, and the Society for Japanese Studies.

These and a number of other similar organizations carry on their activities through a variety of channels: they arrange lecture programs; maintain library facilities of more or less importance; hold luncheon and dinner meetings at which distinguished visitors from the countries of their special interests speak; they also issue bulletins and pamphlets of varying degrees of importance both for their own members and for the general public. In some cases they serve as links between experts in the Pacific field and persons of more general interest; in others they provide opportunities for collectors of Pacific art and literature to compare notes. Practically all of them are ready to aid students and others who wish to secure information about the peoples and the nations bordering the Pacific.

Perhaps even more important than the work of groups such as those mentioned is that of the missionary and secular bodies which have

direct interests of one kind or another in the Far Eastern countries. The foreign missionary boards and the foreign departments of the Young Women's and Young Men's Christian Associations have very direct motives to develop interest in these countries, which spring from the fact that they depend on public contributions for the support of their work. The Rockefeller Foundation which is concerned with Pacific questions through the activities of the China Medical Board, its International Health Section and its Social Science Department, does not have this same direct interest in stimulating American concern with Far Eastern questions, but the reports which are published about their work and the information which the members of the staffs of these organizations supply by correspondence or on their return to the United States help spread an understanding of conditions in the Pacific countries. The Federal Council of Churches recently carried one of its "good will among children" campaigns through in the form of an exchange of dolls between Japanese and American children—a campaign which aroused widespread and friendly interest in both countries. A number of the Protestant denominational organizations cooperated in 1931-1932 in a thoroughgoing laymen's study and appraisal of missionary work in the Far Eastern countries and the report of this Inquiry has been widely circulated and read.²¹ The American Catholics, like the American Protestants, receive a good deal of information about conditions in the Far Eastern countries through the reports of missionary activities. The various Protestant and Catholic educational institutions in the Far East reach, with information which they distribute, considerably beyond the boundaries of the specific Church clientele.

There is no need to continue this detailed discussion of the channels of this kind through which information concerning the countries of the Pacific enters into the process of adult education of the general American public. Enough has been said to indicate the variety of organizations which are specifically interested in such adult education—education which looks to a furtherance and understanding of problems in the Pacific.

In addition to the primarily academic organizations and to these non-academic bodies, certain of the commercial, legal, and other agencies also are important factors in furthering interest in, and knowledge of, Pacific matters. The business houses and banks with trade or investment interests in the Far East not only study the situation for their own information but in many cases circulate some of that information

²¹ Cf. p. 382 and note 17.

to their clientele or stockholders or depositors. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States and other trade associations, like the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, has found it desirable to maintain special sections which concern themselves with Pacific trade and related problems.

In the last year, particularly, most of the great women's organizations, the peace societies, the men's organizations, like the Rotary and Kiwanis clubs and similar bodies, have given special attention to the study of the issues raised by the Chinese-Japanese conflict. This conflict also has stimulated many of the librarians to set aside special sections of their libraries for books on the Far East and to prepare reading lists of book and magazine material dealing with Pacific questions. Various organizations which arrange professionally or otherwise for public lectures have found it desirable to build up special groups of speakers who can discuss Pacific questions with authority.

The American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, while not organized primarily to distribute for general information the results of the research studies with which it is concerned, has found itself faced with an increasing demand that it develop this side of its work. In response to that demand it has begun the issue of fortnightly memoranda which provide informational background for the understanding of Pacific trade developments, and political movements. The American Council also has contributed in an important way to the stimulation of the interest of the many other organizations in Pacific questions. It has furnished many of these organizations with detailed advice or even specially prepared documentary material. The American Council in 1932-1933, for example, prepared two pamphlets dealing with the conflict between Japan and China which were drafted at the joint request of the nine principal national women's organizations, including the National League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Association of University Women. These pamphlets were prepared for use in the study courses on international relations which the women's clubs laid out for their members. The American Council is being called on from many different sources and with increasing frequency for information about the Pacific or advice on how the study of Pacific questions can be advanced. It is reasonably safe to say, however, that the most effective stimulation to American interests in the Pacific area and to the problems of the Far East which has come for many years is the conflict between China and Japan which started in 1931. In response to this interest the American newspapers

and magazines have carried a relatively very large volume of material, not only about the conflict itself but also about the two countries involved and about the bearing of this conflict on American interests. The publishing houses also have issued a much larger number of books about the Pacific and the Far East than they otherwise would have done. It would, in fact, be difficult to overestimate the influence of the novels concerning different phases of Chinese life, which have been written in recent years. Particularly is this true of Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* and Nora Waln's *House of Exile*.

THE INSTITUTE OF PACIFIC RELATIONS

Experts carrying on research in special fields tend to work in water-tight compartments. Consequently the danger always exists that the work on one subject will bear relatively little relation to the work on other subjects, or to the whole complex of subjects involved in the study of such situations as the relation of nations in the Pacific area. One of the most serious problems with which any organization has to deal in its efforts to coordinate specialized research work, therefore, is that of bringing to bear the best thinking of many minds on both the formulation of research projects and the consideration of the results secured by research.

Since its organization the Institute of Pacific Relations has realized the importance of this problem, and its leaders have devoted a large amount of thought and effort to working out the solution. As a result of careful analysis and experiment between and during the conferences, which the Institute has held biennially, beginning in 1925, a technique of coordinating research and discussion has been developed which has proved remarkably successful.

The description of this technique necessarily is from the point of view of the Institute of Pacific Relations as an international organization, rather than from the point of view of the American Council of the Institute. The activities of the American and other national councils within the Institute fit into the work of the Institute as a whole, and to a considerable extent are coordinated with each other. It is desirable, however, to emphasize the point that the Institute is first of all international in character. It is not the creature of any one of the national councils; these national councils are on a basis of complete structural equality in the organization of the Institute and in the planning and administration of its work. After the international Pacific Council of the Institute (acting through its Research Committee) has approved re-

search projects, the supervision of the research itself is in the hands of the several national councils.

THE INSTITUTE CONFERENCES:
COORDINATION OF DISCUSSION
AND RESEARCH

The need for research work to supplement the discussions at the Institute Conferences became apparent at the first conference in 1925. Those taking part found that they had come to grips with a problem—the effects of discriminatory immigration laws—a consideration of which involved knowledge of the facts of population increase, land utilization, food production, standards of living, and the like. Very little reliable information on such subjects was to be had, yet on the basis of the alleged “facts,” social attitudes were molded and immigration had been opposed. It was obvious that really fruitful consideration of this migration question must have as its foundation a multitude of accurate observations and a systematic description of precisely what the situation was.

The same need for study and research as a basis for the conference discussions arose at the 1927 meeting, particularly in connection with the discussion of Chinese-British relations, and at the 1929 and 1931 conferences in connection with the consideration of Manchurian problems.

Step by step, therefore, the research work of the Institute developed as a means of providing those attending the conferences with authentic and carefully correlated facts about the subjects which were being discussed. The conferences themselves thus became not simply gatherings of well-intentioned people and a few experts who discussed more or less sentimentally the questions on the agenda, but rather meetings of men and women with broad interests and special knowledge, who considered carefully facts involved, on the basis, in substantial part, of the data which had been secured through the research work. This kind of discussion broke down the walls separating the work of one expert from another and put the contribution from each specialized research activity in its proper setting in relation to the study of the whole field. As a result of such discussions, also, the gaps in the available information became apparent, and the lines along which further research might proceed were clearly indicated.

The conferences of the Institute of Pacific Relations thus have become, in substance, meetings for the review and analysis of the results

of study by individuals and by the separate national councils, and for the building up of a properly proportioned picture of the actual situation in the relations between the countries in the Pacific area.

Most of the actual discussion of the significant problems which takes place at the Institute conferences is carried on at the meetings of the round table groups. These group discussions are, in fact, the core of the conferences, and the technique which is used is the result of considerable experiment and careful analysis of the purposes to be achieved.

The procedure of the round tables calls for three steps: first, to determine specifically what the problem is by the drawing out of facts, attitudes, and opinions pertinent to the subject under discussion; second, to formulate the problem on the basis of this bringing together of the pertinent information; third, to outline the possible solutions of the problem—although in this last connection it should be remembered that the Institute does not itself adopt recommendations for expressions of opinion.

Each member of the round table contributes at each step of this procedure. No one is expected to play the rôle of instructor while the rest are merely listeners. It is assumed, too, that the free discussion quite probably will result in some change in the opinions which the participants may have had at the start. The validity of the opinions which are held at the conclusions of the discussions are believed to be considerably greater than those with which the participants started, because of bringing many minds to play on the carefully compiled, factual information.

This procedure obviously cannot succeed unless those who attend the round tables are themselves well acquainted with the facts pertaining to the subject under discussion. Consequently, the Institute provides those who are to attend the conference with an elaborate documentation. The plan is to furnish every conference member with the fullest possible collection of data from each country, bearing on every major subject which is to come up for discussion. The round table discussions are conducted on the assumption that each participant is familiar with the facts supplied through this documentation. This eliminates the necessity for introductory statements of facts, and, except in rare instances, avoids argument over questions of fact. The discussions are built around this skeleton of facts; they also involve consideration of attitudes, opinions, and interpretations which cannot successfully be documented; they result in the clear formulation of the problem and an understanding of the exact issues involved.

The point of departure for the round table discussions at each Conference is the accumulated experience of the preceding conferences, plus the research and other activities of the Institute during the intervening two years. Certain major problems in the international relations of the Pacific area have come before round tables at each of the conferences. Members of the round table, therefore, are expected to inform themselves of the earlier discussions, as well as to familiarize themselves with the documents especially prepared for the particular conference. The Secretariat summarizes the pertinent parts of previous discussions in syllabi, which are issued shortly before the opening of the conferences.

This recurrent consideration at successive conferences of some of the larger problems of the Pacific is inevitable, of course, if the work of the Institute is to have reality, because the problems themselves continue to be troublesome. Both because of the nature of the problems and because of this need for recurrent consideration, the Institute has found it necessary to plan certain of its research work on a long-time basis. The question of food supply in the Pacific, for example, thus has been the subject of continuing study from various points of view since the beginning of the Institute. These long-time research projects cannot be brought to conclusion in the form of final documents which will be ready for each conference. Such information as is available, however, is put together in tentative form for consideration at the round tables.

Other lesser problems can be dealt with in single papers prepared between conferences. These also are submitted to the round tables in the form of "data papers" and become part of the documentary material which the Institute is accumulating.

Those who attend the conference and participate in the round tables do so as individuals, not as representatives of groups or governments. No opportunity is given for making a case on behalf of this or that special interest or group or nation. The round table discussions are not concerned with the defense of a particular position as such. This does not mean that the discussions lack reality. In fact, this avoidance of partizanship gives peculiarly significant reality to the discussions because it promotes an exact understanding of the forces which are at work in the creation of problems in international relations, hence giving a clearer view of how antagonisms can be eliminated, and how cooperative activity, which will bring mutual benefit, can be developed. This does not mean that the emotional factors which form so powerful

a force in determining national action are ignored; these emotions and their consequent social attitudes are recognized as facts pertinent to the problems which are being considered. They are, however, put in their proper place, which is that of factors to be understood and not that of unquestioned and unquestionable justifications for action.

Since discussion at the round tables is intended to be completely free, and since it is expected that as a result of these discussions opinions will change, obviously it is not desirable to have public record made of the statements by individuals in the course of the discussion. Many of those who take part in the round table discussions, although present as individuals, occupy important positions. If what they said at the beginning of the round table discussions were reported in the press or otherwise put into permanent records, they might easily be embarrassed by charges of inconsistency when they later come to change their views. Great care is taken, therefore, to eliminate personal publicity in connection with the round table discussions. Publicity of these discussions is sent out in the name of the round table as a whole.

POLICIES AND PROBLEMS OF THE INSTITUTE

In carrying on research on an international scale the Institute has not been able to rely on the experience of others. Its policies have been shaped in the course of pioneering in a relatively new field. Research methods, once applied almost exclusively to the exact sciences, have in recent decades been used increasingly in the study of human relations through the social sciences. For a long time, however, such research was limited to local, domestic problems in individual countries—a condition which still prevails. Only under the impetus of the World War and of the acute international crises since then, has increasing attention been directed toward the international social, economic, and political relations of people.

LOCAL ASSIGNMENT OF RESEARCHES

But research in international relations was at first conducted by individual research workers or *ad hoc* organizations motivated by the desire to solve an urgent political, economic, or moral problem. The results were haphazard and concentrated upon crises which called for immediate solutions, thereby emphasizing abnormalities in national conduct. This method neglected the continual accumulation of information on the normal behavior of people and the systematic analysis and

interpretation of data. It neglected, in other words, the well-ordered scheme of study which must underlie any understanding of why people behave as they do when crises arise.

The need for systematic research in the relations of the people of the Pacific area was recognized by the Institute in its early conference, but a technique for carrying it out was not at hand. Certain principles had to be laid down for later modification and development, and these have been the directing policies under which an extensive program of investigation has been pursued.

The function of the Institute of Pacific Relations is essentially that of initiating and correlating the activity of other organizations in the direction of the Institute's aims. From the outset it has declined to create an elaborate organization of its own. Applied to research, this policy has restrained the Institute from carrying on investigations itself and from maintaining a staff for that purpose. There exist in the Pacific area numerous institutions qualified to undertake research into the problems of the region; there are others which with assistance promise to become qualified. The Institute has endeavored to stimulate and correlate the work of these organizations rather than erect a superstructure of its own which in the end probably would turn out less valuable results.

A case in point is the study of land utilization which an early conference recognized to be basic to problems of population pressure, trade and migration. Successful investigation of this subject involved special information on the social and economic conditions of areas as different as China and Canada or the Philippines and New Zealand, not to mention language differences and varieties of dialects within the language groups. To create a centralized research organization capable of making detailed and comprehensive studies into this question would have been excessively expensive and time-consuming, and it is doubtful whether the results would have been satisfactory. There were, moreover, a number of institutions in several of the countries concerned in which studies of land utilization were planned or already under way, and investigation by a new research body would have caused much duplication.

The Institute adopted the method of using whatever resources for research were available in each area selected for investigation, limiting its own rôle to that of stimulation, coordination, and financial assistance. In some instances, it was necessary only to bring work already under way into line with a comprehensive scheme covering a larger area and

relating to a wider group of social and economic questions. In others, it was necessary, during the early stages of investigation, to make provision for training a corps of workers to serve in more technical capacities during later stages. There were a few cases in which the Institute had to seek out and persuade appropriate agencies to conduct the necessary studies. Certain areas, finally, had already been adequately investigated and the Institute's task was limited to applying their results to the comprehensive study of the Pacific region.

COORDINATION OF RESEARCH AGENCIES

In entrusting projects to existing agencies two considerations have ruled: first, that research should be conducted by the best persons and institutions available, but that, other things being equal, nationals of the country in which the study is to be conducted should have priority; and, second, that, rather than disperse funds widely, a few research centers should be steadily cultivated over a considerable period of years with a view to developing able research staffs in various parts of the Pacific. Viewed over a long span, a program of research involves not only obtaining data on specified subjects, but also, in the course of securing that information, training a body of investigators who will later be capable of conducting research themselves. It is conceivable that a particular project could be carried out as well or better by foreigners than by nationals. But if the project is turned over to the former, the only lasting result will be the study itself. If the work is done by an institution of the country concerned there will remain after the project is completed not only the report of that investigation, but also a group better prepared for further work. The same reasoning has suggested the wisdom of concentrating the resources of the Institute upon a few institutions on the supposition that assisting these for several consecutive years would result in more permanent benefits than aiding more organizations for shorter periods.

This policy has pertained particularly to a country such as China, where social and political disturbances have placed well-nigh unsurmountable obstacles in the way of objective study. When the Institute initiated its program of research seven years ago there were, despite these handicaps, a few centers in that country which with the assurance of continued support promised to develop strong research organizations. The Institute, consequently, set about strengthening these centers by entrusting to them long-term projects in land utilization, industrialization, and migrations. The outcome has been, in addition to excellent

reports on these subjects, the establishment of well-equipped and well-staffed institutions capable of carrying out a continuing program of research.

In the pursuit of this policy of concentration on a few institutions certain disadvantages have become increasingly apparent. By strengthening a few centers, others have been neglected, and, to continue with the example of China, data and problems of the areas of the institutions selected have been studied to the partial exclusion of other regions. With the exception of a brief investigation into the problems of the southward migration of the Chinese, the Institute has made no contacts with universities in south China. This criticism applies also to the western interior of China. This has resulted in part from the apparent absence of promising research organizations in the social sciences in those areas and partly from the aforementioned policy of concentrating the Institute's limited resources. A counter tendency is at present in evidence among those charged with the supervision of the Institute's research program. It may be anticipated that the policy of concentration will be somewhat relaxed in an effort to cover a wider area and to stimulate research in a larger number of organizations.

COOPERATION IN RESEARCH PROJECTS

It has been suggested earlier that the Institute had in large measure to develop a technique of international research, there being few precedents to follow. One of the principal difficulties has been to work out methods whereby analogous problems would be investigated simultaneously in the many diverse environments of the Pacific area, and comparable data secured from each.

The technique of research in the international field which the Institute is developing is illustrated by the procedure adopted in studying the question of aliens. The need for research into the problem was brought out in round table discussions of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China. It was soon recognized that considering the subject as unique to China threw it out of proportion and eliminated the valuable possibility of bringing the experience and practice of other countries to bear on it. It was also realized that the problem of aliens was common to all the countries on the Pacific and that only in its particular manifestations was it peculiar to any one. In consequence, each National Council of the Institute was requested to prepare a paper on the status of aliens (at first limited to the legal aspects of the question) in its area. These papers were completed in the intervening biennium before the

next Conference, and during the latter they were reviewed by a sub-committee of specialists. An optimum standard was established by this group and presented to the authors of the papers with the request that they revise their papers accordingly. At the same time an authority was asked to undertake the coordination of these separate studies and the direction of the requested revisions. In the latter task assistance was given by the Central Secretariat. The coordinating study, it is expected, will shortly be issued, bringing to a close the legal phase of the status of aliens study. It may then be found that further studies in regard to the social and economic status of aliens will be needed for a full understanding of the problems involved and in that case further cooperative investigations will be called for, to be followed by another coordinating study.

The procedure is not always so clear-cut as the above description implies. In studying the tariff problems of the Pacific area, the Institute has had to proceed more slowly. It was found impossible to secure comparable data from a series of decentralized studies, for no schedule of investigation could be drawn up which would produce correlated results. The Institute has consequently at the same time organized separate surveys of national tariffs and their effect on trade, and a centralized study of the trade and tariffs of the whole area, designed especially to set up criteria by which tariffs could be subsequently measured in each country. Further steps in investigating this problem will depend upon the results of these studies now under way.

CORRELATION OF PROBLEMS OF THE PACIFIC AREA AND INTER- NATIONAL POLITICS

Study of the sort of human problems with which the Institute is concerned has created further problems in conducting research. Although the organization does not concern itself with bringing about immediate political results, it, nevertheless, keeps an eye on the practical world of current events. At Conferences, the discussions center on the phenomena underlying current political manifestations, and they seek to throw light on the causes rather than on remedial details. The areas of these discussions, however, are close enough to subjective thought and activity and to matters which must meet at least a long-term pragmatic test to create difficulties for scientific research. A task of research in the Institute is to study moot points which have arisen in previous discussions and to document succeeding Conferences. There

is thus imposed upon the research program a connection with practical affairs, to which research, as such, is traditionally unaccustomed.

It is not necessarily true, however, that the nearer research approaches to current events, that is the more it is designed to effect change, the less it is scientific. The work of the entomologist is often determined by the immediate aim of improving crop yield, yet his investigations do not thereby become less objective. On the contrary, to the extent that he has allowed ulterior considerations to influence his studies his results lack usefulness to the agriculturist. In the social sciences the problem is more complicated; the study of human relations is not yet to be classed with the exact sciences. In the investigation of society it is altogether more difficult to eliminate presuppositions. For this reason the research program of the Institute runs into danger in holding close to the area of practical affairs.

The Institute cannot claim to have evolved a complete formula out of this difficulty. Certain of the policies described above, however, tend to ensure scientific work. Decentralized investigations, at worst, would reveal many opposing prejudices which in the process of coordination would be largely cancelled out. The constant testing of researches in Conference discussions provides a further check. The problem, moreover, is forced to the point of the ridiculous when it is regarded at its worst, for, naturally, this contingency is eliminated by the selection of qualified research workers and institutions.

The problem, nevertheless, remains and was summarized by the Institute's Research Secretary for the Conference of Representatives of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations in Paris, 1930; he said:

In the effort to combine thoroughness in research with practical needs, to deal adequately with fundamental systematic problems of description and analysis and yet provide the information necessary for discussion of immediate and changing issues, and to maintain scholarly standards without ignoring those regions of social life for which established and quantitative research methods are not yet worked out and perhaps never can be worked out, the Institute as yet has made only very tentative and partial experiments. The humanizing of knowledge is a difficult process. It would be comparatively easy to initiate and administer a research program which would satisfy the social scientists of the Pacific. It is a much more difficult matter to find one which will satisfy both them and those who are interested rather in practical solutions of immediate problems of grave urgency. It is an open question whether the Institute of Pacific Relations will be able to hold the two points of view together long enough for a solution to be worked out.

Since the above comment was made, the Institute has partly eliminated the problem by drawing a sharper distinction between research projects and Conference data papers. The latter are for the most part not research, but either summaries of research already completed or surveys of data elsewhere available; they are short statements of fact designed for the specific purpose of documenting the discussion of certain topics at a Conference. The research program on the other hand is only partially determined by the agenda of the next Conference, yet, being directed towards international relations of the Pacific, it inevitably contributes some data to each Conference. The distinction, nevertheless, remains clear that data papers are prepared specifically for Conference purposes and they may or may not involve research, whereas the research program has no immediate objective other than adding to the general body of information.

SELECTION OF PROJECTS AND THE FORMULATION OF A RESEARCH PROGRAM

There remains for consideration the Institute's policy in selecting topics for research. These were determined early in the Institute's history by Conference discussions. In order to discover what facilities and investigators were available, the Secretary of the International Research Committee undertook a general tour of the Pacific area during the course of which, and in consultation with established research centers, he made additional recommendations. The suggestions made by the round tables had to be modified by the available facilities for research in the Pacific, and these, together with the recommendations of the Secretary, were subjected to further scrutiny by experts called upon to advise the organization to which the Institute applied for funds. This way of inaugurating research was not conducive to a logical and systematic program. Even had it been possible to draw up such a program, which is doubtful, there would have been no way to carry it out.

For these reasons the Institute's researches might be expected to have been unrelated and scattered. It is surprising to find, as the next division will indicate, that this was not entirely true and that the program revealed a fairly systematic grouping of projects around a few fundamental problems. In every case subjects were chosen for investigation which lay beneath the surface of events; in many questions the groundwork had even to be laid in regions apparently only remotely connected with practical affairs. This is perhaps an explanation of the

degree to which in retrospect a correlated program is found to have been initiated, for the further investigation pushes behind the everyday behavior of people the greater is the common denominator of causation. Only in surface events does there appear to be universal disparity.

The subsequent development of the research program grew out of later Conferences and out of the findings of earlier projects. As soon as discussion and research began mutually to support each other, a more systematic method of study became evident in both. Gradually, moreover, the Institute gained insight into the affairs of the Pacific area and with this came the ability to maintain a more coordinated scheme of investigation.

Consequently the International Research Committee during the Banff Conference kept itself free from administrative details and devoted its time to a thorough survey of research in the Pacific with a view to establishing a systematic scheme for further studies. In this task the practices of the Social Science Research Council in planning research furnished valuable precedent.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ITS RESEARCH

The Institute's research activities are carried on by Research Committees under each of its national units and by an International Research Committee composed of a representative from each of the local committees. The executive work of the International Committee is attended to by a Research Secretary attached to the Central Secretariat. The International Research Committee, constitutionally, is advisory to the Pacific Council, the governing body of the Institute, and it merely makes recommendations to the Pacific Council, which has the power to amend or veto. In fact, however, the Pacific Council has traditionally accepted the recommendations of the International Research Committee without change.

The Research Committees of the various National Councils are responsible for the initiation and approval of all research projects to be carried out within their territory. The projects may arise from suggestions by individual research workers, by applications for assistance from such bodies as universities or other research institutions, or by the direct invitation of the Research Committee to such bodies or individuals. In every case the local Research Committee may recommend to its Council that projects be amended, dropped, or proceeded with in different ways; it may utilize funds available in its own country, request other research bodies to conduct investigations, or recommend its Council to

make grants. When research programs exceed their own resources, the National Councils may ask extra financial assistance, or they may endorse the projects recommended by their own Research Committees to the International Research Committees.

The financial resources of the International Research Committee are obtained from an American foundation (on a yearly basis). Part of the grant is given the Committee outright, the remainder on condition that two dollars for every one be raised from other sources for expenditure on the same projects. Beginning in 1934, the condition will be raised to a three-to-one basis. The International Research Committee, therefore, in making grants, imposes the condition that the recipient raise for the same purposes a similar amount from other sources. The more difficult requirements which will become effective in 1934 will be passed on to the recipients of grants. The effect of this condition is to enable the Institute to carry on a more extensive program than its resources would otherwise permit and also to encourage the maintenance of research centers by local funds.

When projects have been recommended by the International Research Committee and approved by the Pacific Council, responsibility for their execution and for the expenditure of whatever funds are granted is put in the hands of a trustee institution, which may be one of the Institute's National Councils, or a university or other research body. The development of the project is closely watched by the secretary of the Committee, frequent progress reports and financial accountings being called for.

The Institute has adhered as closely as possible to the policy of not making the administration of research a charge on its research funds. In so far as possible this fund is devoted exclusively to the research work itself, expenses incident to administration being met from the general funds at the disposal of the Central Secretariat. This policy, it has been felt, is consistent with the aim of limiting the Institute's functions to those of administration and coordination of work carried on by others.

The distinction which is made between research and the preparation of data papers has been discussed in a preceding section. It was pointed out that data papers, for the most part, do not involve research but only the application of the results of research for Conference uses. The preparation of data papers, nevertheless, falls under the purview of research administration. Most of the initiative for these papers, as well as the task of putting them through the press and distributing them, is

taken care of by the various National Research Committees. The International Committee, however, is responsible for obtaining from each area comparable data and for determining methods for publication and distribution which will be coordinated and efficient.

DISSEMINATION OF RESULTS

The Institute, very recently, has experimented with new processes of bringing the results of its research activities into use. It was recognized that the values of new knowledge were not as fully utilized as they might be, so long as reports on the findings of studies were only made available to the relatively few scholars who are interested in specialized research, and that a wider circle of potential interest might be served. Instead, therefore, of waiting for that gradual filtration of research findings through the more popular writings of the scholars participating in the activities of the Institute, or through their textbooks, public lectures or journalistic writings, the Institute has developed its own instruments for reaching the public—not only *the* public, but a variety of distinct special publics, such as the business community, teachers, and those who, through the press or the spoken word, are often the makers of public opinion.

In pursuance of this policy of making its specialized information as widely available as possible, the American Council began, in 1932, the publication of a series of memoranda dealing briefly but concisely with questions involving the Pacific area, which were to the fore in popular interest. These have been issued biweekly and have been in considerable demand among those especially interested in this field.

Pacific Affairs, the bimonthly journal of the Institute of Pacific Relations, which has been published since 1927 by the International Secretariat of the Institute from the Honolulu headquarters, was changed to a quarterly in March, 1934. It is now published from the New York office under the editorship of Mr. Owen Lattimore. The Institute's new program plans to make *Pacific Affairs* a journal particularly devoted to the origins and development of situations in the Pacific Area which give rise to international complications. Special arrangements are made for securing articles from the experts who are connected with the various National Councils of the Institute. The journal, already having a circulation of close to 2,000, is widely quoted in other journals interested in the problems of the Pacific area.

An Economic Handbook of the Pacific, another of the Institute's new projects, was published in the spring of 1934. It is designed to be

a comprehensive compilation of statistical data concerning economic phases of problems which are of vital interest to nations bordering the Pacific, or to nations with colonial interests or mandates within the area. Another study in preparation deals particularly with the production and exchange of commodities in the Pacific area.

The biennial volumes entitled *Problems of the Pacific*, which are the Proceedings of each Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, have been published since 1927 by the University of Chicago Press. The report of the initial meeting and the organization of the Institute, in 1925, was published in Honolulu. These reports, especially those of the 1927 Conference at Honolulu, and of the Conferences at Kyoto, Shanghai, and Hanchow are, in reality, the forerunners of the present program of publication which the Institute has undertaken. These biennial volumes, containing a number of the data papers, are not only storehouses of information to those who are interested in public affairs of the Pacific area, but in succession they constitute a summary of the trends of expert opinion within the last decade.

In addition to these publications, all of which are largely factual data, the American Council does a good deal in the way of assembling less formal material of interest to individuals and organizations in the United States. At the request of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, for example, in 1932 and 1933, it prepared two pamphlets dealing particularly with the Manchurian problem, which were widely used for discussions in study groups of the women's clubs. During 1934 the Institute prepared for the American Association of University Women an outline for study courses on cultural relations in the Pacific area.

The American Council also acts as an information bureau on matters relating to Pacific affairs; and its library is used to a considerable extent by students of Far Eastern questions.

Altogether, experience has shown that the information gathered by the research can be used to meet the demands of the growing general interest in the United States in the international relations of the Far East, and the Islands of the Pacific. Experiments which have been made in disseminating more widely this information have amply demonstrated the wisdom of extending the work in this direction.

CHAPTER XII

LATIN AMERICA

BEGINNINGS OF THE STUDY IN UNIVERSITIES

It was about thirty-seven years ago that pioneer work was begun in this country in the schools of higher learning in the field of Hispanic-American affairs. In 1895 Professor Bernard Moses offered the first course in the University of California under the title of Spanish American History and Institutions. Ten years later, in the academic year 1904-1905, Professor William R. Shepherd gave a course at Columbia University dealing with Hispanic America based largely upon his syllabus which he had published in 1904. In the same school year also the University of Texas offered its first course entitled Spanish Colonization.

It was not, however, until 1909 that any other university took up the teaching of the subject. In that year the University of Illinois gave a general course in Hispanic-American history. In 1912 a course on Spain and Spanish America was introduced at Stanford University, and ever since then courses in some phase of Hispanic-American history have been given regularly. Harvard offered its first course in 1915, and within the next two academic years courses were begun at Brown University, the University of Colorado, the University of Indiana, Notre Dame, the University of North Carolina, Northwestern University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Goucher College.

By 1916 Professors C. E. Chapman and W. S. Robertson considered the time ripe for the publication of a scholarly periodical devoted to Hispanic-American history, and accordingly they addressed from Buenos Aires to the *American Historical Review* a communication proposing such a step. The proposal was received with favor. The new journal was given the name of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and was placed under the editorship of Dr. James Alexander Robertson.

DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

One measure of interest in Hispanic-American studies in the universities of the United States may be found in the growth in the number

of doctoral dissertations dealing with subjects in the field of Hispanic-American history. In the first volume of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* (February, 1918), the editor announced that there were twelve Ph.D. dissertations in preparation in the United States dealing with Hispanic-American subjects, that three others were in the press and one other was about to go to press. There has been a steady increase in this historical output. In 1931 the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union compiled a list of theses on Pan American topics, including masters theses as well as doctoral dissertations, and the list totaled 1,100.

In 1927 Professor A. Curtis Wilgus undertook for the *Hispanic American Historical Review* a survey of investigations in progress and contemplated in the field of Hispanic-American history. Questionnaires were sent to the history, political science, economics, and geography departments of all colleges and universities in the United States with an enrolment of 600 or more students, and to a few schools with a smaller enrolment. This survey, which gave the status of conditions for the academic year 1926-1927, showed that 237 distinct research projects were under way in some sixty-six colleges and universities. Of these projects sixty were graduate theses in preparation by individuals who were fitting themselves to teach the subject in institutions of higher learning.

In 1930 a second similar survey was made for the same periodical and by the same individual, covering the academic year 1929-1930. At that time fifty-six institutions reported 282 distinct projects under way or contemplated in the field.

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY COURSES

This output in research and in the more detailed study of Hispanic-American subjects has been the result of a much-enlarged offering of courses in the colleges and universities. At the present time, according to a survey made recently by the Pan American Union, there are nearly 400 institutions of higher learning in the United States offering approximately 600 courses relating to Hispanic America in the fields of history, political science, economics, sociology, geography, and literature.

On October 29, 1925, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, asked the American Historical Association to undertake a survey of the teaching of Hispanic-American history in colleges, universities, normal schools, academies, and high schools in the United

States. This suggestion was acted upon almost immediately and a committee, headed by Professor W. S. Robertson, began to function by sending questionnaires to 1,172 institutions in the United States. Less than half of the schools replied, but the results, as tabulated, indicate in general the status of the teaching of Hispanic-American history in the academic year 1925-1926. From this report it appears that such courses were offered in five junior colleges, thirty-six normal schools and teachers colleges, and in 135 colleges and universities. Forty other colleges and universities reported that they had given such courses, but were not doing so then. A number of additional institutions reported that correlation was made between United States and Hispanic-American history, and between European and Hispanic-American history, though no formal courses were offered. The largest enrollment in Hispanic-American history courses was at the University of California where in one class, the History of the Americas, given by Dr. H. E. Bolton, there were more than 1,200 students. The survey also brought to light the fact that a number of the larger institutions, such as the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, Yale, and Princeton were not offering courses in Hispanic-American history. Institutions of learning located in the seaboard states and particularly in the Southwest, seemed to predominate in offering these courses. Many school authorities who replied to the questions complained that teachers in the field were not available and hence such work could not be offered.

In the present academic year (1932-1933) a survey undertaken by Professor Wilgus for the Social Science Research Council showed that some eighty-five of the leading institutions interested in the field of Hispanic-American affairs were offering about 200 courses in the subject and that there were nearly 200 student theses and nearly 100 faculty research projects under way. It should be noted in passing that plans have been made by the Inter-American Bibliographical Association in Washington to conduct surveys of a similar nature every four years and that questionnaires will be sent to the leading educational institutions in all of the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

COOPERATIVE RESEARCHES AND PUBLICATIONS

In any report dealing with research in the field of Hispanic-American affairs mention should be made of a number of projects of an extended nature now in progress. The University of North Carolina plans to publish through its press a series of twelve volumes and an Atlas under the title of the "Inter-American Historical Series." The whole work is being

edited by Dr. James Alexander Robertson, editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. This series will contain translations of selected textbooks used in colleges and universities in Hispanic America which deal with the histories of the several countries. Thus students in the United States will be furnished with excellent material for reference while at the same time they will be made aware of what is being taught in the schools of Spanish and Portuguese America.

A second project is a cooperative critical bibliography of works in all languages dealing with Hispanic America. This undertaking was outlined in detail by Professor Wilgus in 1927. A general board of editors was appointed and the collection of material was actually begun. It was hoped that the Pan American Bibliographical Conference which was scheduled to meet in Havana, Cuba, in 1929 would give assistance, as well as encouragement, to the undertaking. In fact the project was placed upon the agenda of that Conference. When the Havana meeting was canceled by the Cuban government the Inter-American Bibliographical Association took over consideration of the project and was successful in having the scheme placed upon the agenda of the Seventh International Conference of American States held in Montevideo in December, 1933. At this meeting it was decided that Cuba should invite delegates to a bibliographical conference to be held the next year. Accordingly, such a conference has been scheduled to meet at Havana in November, 1934. An elaborate program has been drawn up by the Advisory Committee on Bibliography of the Pan American Union. It is expected that the Bibliographical Conference will provide funds to consummate the project as outlined in 1927. A brief introductory survey preliminary to the publication of the larger project was compiled by Professor Wilgus for the Inter-American Bibliographical Association and was issued by the Pan American Union as No. 9 in its bibliographic series.

In this connection it might be interesting to note that the Pan American Union has undertaken the mimeographing of special bibliographies. In the bibliographical series just alluded to, the first issue is entitled Bibliography of the Liberator Simón Bolívar. This appeared in June, 1930. A new revised *de luxe* edition appeared in 1933. No. 2 of the series is entitled Sources of Information for Books on Latin America, and appeared in October, 1930. No. 3 of this series was the Spanish edition of No. 2. No. 4, which appeared in December, 1930, bears the title Selected List of Books in English on Latin America Suggested for Reading Courses. No. 5 is Theses on Pan American Topics Prepared

by Candidates for Degrees in Colleges and Universities in the United States (July, 1931). No. 6 is entitled Catalogue of Newspapers and Magazines in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union (December, 1931). No. 7 is A Selected List of Books and Magazine Articles on Inter-American Relations issued in March, 1932. No. 8 has a Spanish title and lists works in the Library of the Pan American Union dealing with library classification and organization. No. 9, cited above, was issued in November, 1932. No. 10, which appeared in 1933 under the title, Maps relating to Latin America in Books and Periodicals, was prepared by Professor Wilgus. Besides this series of bibliographies issued through the library of the Pan American Union, another special series has been issued by the Division of Intellectual Cooperation of the Union. These treat of such subjects as literature, the arts, and education.

A third project, also cooperative in nature, is a two volume reference history of Hispanic America edited by Professor Wilgus. This work aims to furnish students with the essential facts of the history of all of the Hispanic-American states very much in the way that the *Cambridge Modern History* supplies students of European History with essential facts in their field. It will be a standard work, written in a scholarly fashion, by some two dozen authorities.

A fourth project is entitled *Who's Who in Hispanic America*. This too is a cooperative work and is under the general editorship of Professor P. A. Martin of Stanford University.

A fifth project is in progress at Harvard University, where Dr. J. D. M. Ford, as head of the Harvard Council on Hispano-American Studies, has begun to publish tentative bibliographies of belles-lettres covering the states of Hispanic America. This work is also a cooperative undertaking and several volumes have already appeared.

A sixth project, also at Harvard University, is sponsored by the Bureau of Economic Research on Latin America. The undertaking is under the direction of Professor C. H. Haring. The Bureau plans to publish a bibliography of the economic literature on Latin America in two volumes, one volume covering the countries of South America, the other Mexico and the area of the Caribbean.

A seventh project, undertaken by the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Professor Roy Nichols, concerns the compilation and the editing and translating of original sources dealing especially with the colonial period in Hispanic-American history. These are to be issued as part of "The Translations and Reprint Series."

One of the difficulties in the way of research in the Hispanic-American field, as Dr. Paul S. Taylor of the University of California points out, is the lack of opportunity for publishing monographs. Practically no avenue of publication is available in this country for material which is too lengthy for a magazine article and too short for a book—a difficulty which exists for most social science research in other fields as well as in that of Hispanic America. The consequence is the closing of what might be one of the most profitable channels for making available the results of research endeavor. In the University of California a special effort is made to meet this situation for members of the University staff, through the publication of the monograph series entitled "Ibero-Americana." Doubtless the recent creation of The George Washington University Press for the publication, among other things, of the lectures delivered at the annual Seminar Conference on Hispanic-American Affairs will materially aid some scholars in the publication of their efforts. This press has been established chiefly as an adjunct of the newly created Center of Inter-American Studies established in 1933 at the University under the direction of Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus.

The last volume in this series dealing with Hispanic America appeared in 1933 under the title, *Modern Hispanic America*. Two volumes are scheduled for 1934 under the titles "The Caribbean Area," and "The A B C Powers."

SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS INTERESTED IN LATIN AMERICA

Further interest in Hispanic-American affairs and particularly in the promotion of closer intellectual relations between the peoples of the Western Hemisphere is evident in the ever-increasing number of special organizations and societies which are appearing in the United States.

In June, 1932, at Washington there was organized the Association for Honoring the Liberators of the Nations of America. The first President was Dr. James Brown Scott, Secretary of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the first Secretary was Mr. George A. Finch, the Assistant Secretary for the Carnegie Endowment. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan American Union, were chosen Honorary Presidents. Dr. E. Gil Borges, Assistant Director of the Pan American Union, was named Honorary Secretary. The Association plans to commemorate important dates in the history of the Hispanic-American nations, and to encourage a wider study in this country of Hispanic-

American history. Particularly it plans to hold meetings in commemoration of the great men of Hispanic America.

The Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as part of its work of furthering mutual knowledge and understanding between various countries, has taken an active interest in Pan American affairs. It has financed the exchange of professors, aided research studies and in other ways directly promoted the exchange of scholarly information. It has also encouraged the publication of considerable documentary material. Until 1926, this Division published the valuable periodical *Inter-America*, which appeared in both English and Spanish editions.

The Committee on Inter-American Relations of the National Foreign Trade Council was founded in New York on March 6, 1930, by a group of prominent business men, its purpose being to retain and increase trade with Hispanic America and to bring about a better intellectual, cultural, and social appreciation between the peoples of the American countries. The committee maintains a Pan American information service which furnishes news to nearly 1,000 papers in Hispanic America and supplies United States dailies with translations of editorials and special articles which appear in Hispanic-America. The organization also provides scholarship funds to the Institute of International Education in order to bring to the United States students from Hispanic-American colleges so that they may study in the United States. The chairman of the committee is General Palmer E. Pierce.

At the beginning of April 1933, in connection with the work of the Social Science Research Council in the field of international relations, there was organized in New York City a Committee on Research in Latin America to coordinate and stimulate the scientific activities of both individuals and institutions throughout the United States in all pertinent matters of research dealing with Latin-American international relations. The subject matter was not narrowly limited, however, to international action, but covered as well the whole field of the social sciences in Latin-American countries in so far as the topics in question have, either directly or by implication, bearing upon international relations. The Committee was organized at a conference composed of the leading university and college teachers in the United States who are doing research or directing research in this field. A permanent Committee was organized, headed by an executive group of six men under the chairmanship of Professor H. E. Bolton of the University of California. This Committee will act as a clearing house for research information

and for plans for cooperation in research in connection with the program of the Social Science Research Council.

The Cortes Society, which is now inactive, was composed of societies, libraries, and individuals and was organized in 1917 with offices in the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City. Its purpose was to publish documents and narratives dealing with the discovery and conquest of America and to translate into English unpublished manuscripts. No dues were charged and members paid for books as they were issued.

In the summer of 1930 a group of interested individuals formed the Geographic and Historical Society of the Americas in the city of Washington. As their official organ they adopted the *Pan American Magazine*, which they published from July, 1930, to May, 1931. The society, now inactive, was a non-profit organization. It aimed "to gather and disseminate information of significant interest as contributing to the wider appreciation of Inter-American relations; to stimulate interest in the resources, development, and achievements, economical and cultural, of the American countries; to cultivate this interest actively through the medium of a monthly publication; . . . to create in an ever-widening circle of membership an ever-increasing audience for the message of good-will that unfolds with acquaintance and understanding."

In 1904 Mr. Archer Milton Huntington of New York founded the Hispanic Society of America and became its first president. To the Society he gave a home in New York City, a rich collection of books and objects of art, and a large endowment. Today the Society maintains a museum of Spanish and Portuguese paintings, coins, manuscripts, and maps, and a library of valuable works pertaining to Hispanic America and Spain and Portugal. From time to time the organization publishes studies relating to the history and civilization of these regions, and it thus constitutes an important factor in stimulating an appreciation of the intellectual efforts of the Americas. The influence of the Hispanic Society has been far greater than that of most other organizations in initiating and stimulating research of a high type at a critical time when Hispanic studies were at a low ebb. Some of its publications are of extraordinary value, representing scholarship of the highest order, and all of them are produced with a finish that is enviable.

The Institute of International Education, which was created February 1, 1919, at New York by the Carnegie Endowment and is under the direction of Dr. Stephen P. Duggan, is interested, among other things, in bringing about closer cultural relations between the United States

and Hispanic America and other countries, and aims generally to develop intellectual good will by means of educational agencies. It has been instrumental in bringing to this country several groups of scholars from Hispanic America with funds provided by the Carnegie Endowment. In 1927 the Institute was reorganized and then received funds from the Carnegie Corporation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial.

The Instituto de las Españas was created in October, 1920, as a result of a series of discussions by representatives of the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios of the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de España, the Institute of Education, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish, and Columbia University. Later New York University joined this group. The Instituto aims to promote the study of the Spanish and Portuguese languages and Hispanic-American culture and history. Under its auspices prominent persons of Iberian and Hispanic-American origin lecture in the United States. A quarterly review of Spanish studies (*Revista de estudios hispanicos*) was published until the spring of 1929 under the joint sponsorship of the Romance Language Department of Columbia University, the University of Puerto Rico, and the Center of Historical Studies of the University of Madrid. This periodical dealt largely with the culture and history of Hispanic-America, and contributions were received from all countries of the Americas. The Instituto is also publishing an increasing number of books. It has branches in New Orleans and Washington, D. C.

On May 22, 1930, as a result of the failure of the Cuban government to convene the first bibliographical conference provided for by the Sixth International American Conference, a group of bibliographers organized in Washington, D. C., the Inter-American Bibliographical Association. This organization aims to promote Inter-American bibliographical work by means of cooperation with bibliographical organizations, bibliographical experts, libraries and other related agencies in all of the American countries. It also aims to lend assistance to persons engaged in bibliographical research, and to promote the publication of an all-American bibliography.

In December, 1932, a group of persons in Washington, D. C., who were interested in things Hispanic-American, organized an Inter-American Forum. The aims of this body are to facilitate mutual acquaintance of individuals working in a common field, to furnish prominent visitors coming to Washington from Hispanic America and elsewhere a medium of friendly inspiration, and to encourage in the nation's capital the

production of contributions to knowledge in the field of Hispanic-American affairs. Monthly meetings consisting of formal and informal lectures are held.

The Conference of Rectors, Deans, and Educators which held sessions at Havana, Cuba, from February 20 to 23, 1930, decided on the form for an Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, and recommended that each American state appoint a National Council for Intellectual Cooperation. Accordingly, in November, 1930, Secretary of State Stimson named a United States committee consisting of fifty-five members. The purpose of this organization is to bring about greater appreciation of the culture of each of the American states, and to promote all phases of intellectual cooperation by such means as exchanging teachers and research students, removing prejudiced statements from histories and geographies, making known the cultural and scientific resources of each nation, establishing museums, and encouraging the publication of pertinent information. The headquarters of the Institute are to be in the American Palace of the American Institute of International Law at Havana, and regular meetings are to be held at stated intervals.

The growing interest in the cultural development of the Indians of Middle America before, during, and since the Conquest resulted in the establishment recently of the Maya Society for the purpose of furthering research in this field. The headquarters of the Society are at the Johns Hopkins University. The Society publishes the *Maya Society Quarterly* (first issued in 1931) under the editorship of Mr. William Gates who is president of the Maya Society and Research Association of the Johns Hopkins University.

The Sixth International American Conference which met at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, provided in a resolution for the "coordination, promulgation, and publication of geographic and historical studies in the American States." The organization which resulted is known as the Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Its first meeting was held in Mexico City in September, 1929. At that time its aims were stated as being the promotion of a common intellectual interest among the American Republics in the subjects of history and geography when used in their widest meanings. The Institute plans to publish American historical and geographical works which have been written under its auspices and at its instigation. The Institute is definitely located in Mexico City, where the Mexican Government has constructed a building for the purpose. All of the American States are to contribute to the upkeep of the organization by a fixed quota of \$250 for each million

inhabitants. In each country a national committee is to be created in order to make the work of the Institute more effective. Meetings are to be held once every three years, the last being in Rio de Janeiro in 1932. At the head of the Institute is an Executive Committee with certain coordinating functions.

On February 15, 1912, a group of persons in the United States interested in promoting friendship and good will among the peoples of the American Republics founded in New York City the Pan American Society. This organization has aimed to enlighten public opinion in this country concerning Hispanic-American culture, history, and so forth. Until 1930 the Society was confined exclusively to New York City, and whenever a prominent Iberian or Hispanic-American visited the metropolis the society entertained him. To provide for the reception and entertainment of such visitors elsewhere in the United States the Society decided to establish chapters in certain prominent centers. Consequently, in 1930 branches were founded in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Chicago. Further expansion is to be made from time to time as the needs and membership grow.

As early as 1920 a Pan American Student League was organized in New York City but it soon ceased to function. In 1927 in Dallas, Texas, was organized another Pan American Student League composed of the students of Spanish in that city. Regular meetings were held, addresses were made by distinguished Hispanic-Americans, dramas in Spanish were presented, and Hispanic-American music was played. A yearbook was issued each year. In 1930 a new movement began in New York City and soon became affiliated with the Dallas organization as chapters. But on December 19, 1931, the New York students organized their own separate group under the title of the Pan American Student League of New York City, and soon after began to publish *The Pan American Student*. A union of these later groups was effected.

By a resolution of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union on May 2, 1917, a Division of Education was created for the Pan American Union attached to the Assistant Director's Office. In 1924 this was made a separate division of the Pan American Union, and in 1929 its name was changed to the Division of Intellectual Cooperation and it was placed under the direction of Miss Heloise Brainerd. The Division has taken over a number of functions, among which are the promotion of educational activities; the preparation of directories of institutions and professional groups; and the increasing of mutual information among countries by travel and publication.

In 1929 a group of scholars interested particularly in the Spanish history of the Southwestern United States organized the Quivira Society with the aim of publishing translations of original Spanish documents pertaining to the region. Its publications are distributed only to members of the organization, and are printed and illustrated in limited editions.

Numerous other organizations exist which more or less directly concern themselves with Hispanic-American and Inter-American questions. There also are a number of organizations interested primarily in the promotion of archaeological and ethnological discussions in the Americas. Some of these bodies, which will not be discussed in detail, are: the Chilean-American Association of New York, the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America (New York), the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America, the Cuban-American Friendship Council, the Pan American League of Miami, Florida, the Pan American Round Tables at San Antonio and El Paso, Texas, and the Pan American Woman's Association of the Roerich Museum (New York).

In addition to these societies, institutions, and committees devoted to the study of Latin America, mention should be made of the interest in Latin-American subjects at institutes or conferences which deal with the field of politics or international relations generally. In connection with some of these there have been regular division organizations, round tables, or conferences dealing with Latin-American subjects. Among those most important in this field may be mentioned: the Annual Conference of the Friends of the Mexicans under the auspices of the Inter-American Foundation of Claremont, California, the Institute of Inter-American affairs at the University of Florida, the Institute of Pan American Relations at MacMurray College, the Institute of Politics at Williamstown, the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Georgia, the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, the Institute of Statesmanship at Rollins College, and the Seminar Conference on Hispanic-American Affairs at The George Washington University.

Two other undertakings of interest are the seminar in Mexico, held at the University of Mexico, Mexico City, in connection with the Mexican summer school, and the seminar cruise in the Caribbean in which lectures held on shipboard are supplemented by land trips.

PERIODICALS

Obviously it is not possible to list all of the periodicals in this field. The outstanding one is the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, which provides a guide to all pertinent literature, both books and periodicals. This *Review* therefore furnishes the basis for any bibliographical or general survey of the literature of the subject.

The *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union is also of great importance in that it furnishes, largely from the Hispanic-American viewpoint, many suggestive facts for students in the United States. The *Inter-America* magazine, which was discontinued in 1926, was a valuable repository of contemporary literature in the Latin-American field. The English edition contained important articles by people in Hispanic America, and the Spanish edition translated for the benefit of the Hispanic-American readers, articles written in the United States. A new magazine with the same name has recently appeared in San Francisco, but it emphasizes economic and business affairs.

The South American Magazine, discontinued in 1922, should be mentioned because of its valuable files. It published not only trade articles but also material of a political, intellectual, religious, and social nature.

In 1930 *The Pan American Magazine* (then in its 43d volume) was taken over by the Geographic and Historical Society of the Americas as its official organ, and was published until May, 1931. Its valuable files covering more than a generation are available to the student of Hispanic-American history. This periodical was revived at New Orleans early in 1933, and has since then been published in various cities in Hispanic America.

Several of the Hispanic-American countries publish magazines in the United States. Chile publishes a magazine, and Bolivia, Brazil, and other countries do likewise. These occasionally contain articles dealing with some phase of the history of or life in the country which sponsors the periodical. These publications are mentioned because they frequently constitute valuable sources of information for students.

SOURCE MATERIAL COLLECTIONS

Recent investigations have brought out the fact that there is in the United States a very large amount of primary source material relating to the Latin-American countries and to the southwestern and western parts of the United States which formerly were under Spanish control. For many years a few individuals and libraries have been especially in-

terested in the collection of manuscripts obtained largely from Latin-American dealers and governments. In this way, the University of California and the University of Texas, as well as other schools, have established famous collections and such accumulations. Among the personal collections which have been made, that of Professor H. E. Bolton of the University of California is one of the largest, especially in original material. Students in the United States especially interested in this field will find the *Union Catalog* of the Library of Congress of invaluable assistance, although it does not list all the source materials in this country because much of this material is not catalogued, and some is not even calendared. The volume compiled by Dr. Richardson under the title *Special Collections in North American Libraries* will be of assistance to the student.¹ This indicates, alphabetically by localities, the type of material in several hundred libraries in the United States and Canada. The *List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments*² gives references for official publications of the Latin-American countries. Many of the larger libraries in the United States carry some or all of these Government publications. A list of all the libraries in the United States which have Latin-American material would include most of the larger libraries and many of the smaller ones.

INTERCHANGE OF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS

Another phase of our intellectual relations with Hispanic America is the interchange of university professors and students. The University of California and the University of Chile, for example, exchanged professors for several years, the University of Texas has a similar exchange with Mexico, and there are a number of other institutions in which independent scholars have given lectures. This academic interchange has been largely stimulated by the Institute of International Education. The research fellowships and scholarships which have been created by the Guggenheim Foundation and by the Social Science Research Council and similar bodies are likewise aiding in promoting international understanding.

CHILEAN FELLOWSHIPS.—For 1930-1931 and 1931-1932 the Chilean government placed two fellowships for American students under the administration of the Institute of International Education. These fellowships, one for a man and one for a woman, were for study at the

¹ F. S. Cook and Son, 1927.

² Published by H. W. Wilson Co. An inclusive volume covers the period from 1815 to 1925. A supplement covers the years through 1930. Since that time, quarterly supplements have been issued.

Normal School in Santiago and at the University of Chile. Present conditions in Chile have prevented the renewal of the fellowships.

FARMER FOUNDATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS.—Before his death, the late Mr. E. D. Farmer of Weatherford, Texas, expressed his desire that the money that normally would be collected as inheritance tax on his estate be used to endow exchange professorships and fellowships between the University of Texas and Mexico. The legislature of the State of Texas at its regular session in 1929 passed a bill authorizing the diversion of the normal inheritance tax on the estate from the general revenue of the state to the University of Texas. The amount of the taxes is to be paid directly to the University of Texas, to be held and administered as a special fund known as the E. D. Farmer International Scholarship Fund. In November, 1930, the amount of money received by the University to the credit of the Permanent Endowment of the Farmer International Scholarship Fund totaled \$115,000. The amount of inheritance taxes which could be assessed against the estate was approximately \$210,000. This amount has been paid as the principal of the fund. It was Mr. Farmer's wish that three-quarters of the income from the fund be used to bring exchange professors and students from Mexico to the University of Texas and that the other quarter be used to send exchange professors and students from the University of Texas to Mexico.

INSTITUTE OF INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS.—The University of Florida established the Institute of Inter-American Affairs on June 2, 1930. Its purpose is to foster better cultural relations between the United States and the countries of Latin America. The agencies through which this program is to be developed include the offering of appropriate courses of study in the regular curricula of the University of Florida; the promotion of exchange professors and students between the University of Florida and institutions of higher learning in the other countries; and the holding of annual conferences in which round table discussions will be carried on by representatives of the countries of North America and South America.

In a letter dated May 25, 1932, the director of the Institute, Dr. Rollin S. Atwood, wrote to the Institute of International Education to announce the following scholarships offered by the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, University of Florida. Any student from Latin America is eligible for either or both of the scholarships. (1) Tuition Scholarship: This scholarship is open to all students from Latin America and is granted automatically when the student is formally entered in the

University of Florida. (2) Special Institute Scholarships: There are a limited number of scholarships paying \$200 for the academic year available to students from Latin-American countries. In exceptional cases an additional \$100 can be made available.

LATIN-AMERICAN FELLOWSHIP OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN.—This fellowship of \$1,500 is established by the A.A.U.W. to further friendly relations with women students of the Latin-American republics, and to assist them to prepare for public service in their communities.

GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.—The General Federation of Women's Clubs has a Pan American Scholarship of \$1,000 available every year. The requirements are as follows: A woman student, citizen of one of the Latin-American republics, holder of the equivalent of an A.B. degree, with high intellectual and moral qualifications, good health, and a good working knowledge of the English language.

OHIO FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS.—The Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs offers a fellowship of \$800 every year to a Latin-American girl for study at Ohio State University.

SCHOLARSHIPS AT AMERICAN COLLEGES FOR LATIN-AMERICAN STUDENTS.—Mount Holyoke College offers a scholarship covering tuition, room, and board every year to a student from Latin America. In addition, several other colleges offer scholarships from time to time to Latin-American students. These scholarships, most of which cover tuition, room, and board, are under the administration of the Institute of International Education.

JOHN SIMON GUGGENHEIM MEMORIAL FOUNDATION.—The Trustees of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation announced in 1929 a gift of \$1,000,000 from former United States Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim to establish a system of exchange fellowships between the United States and Latin America. At that time the Trustees approved the following plan:

The Latin-American Exchange Fellowships, in the first instance, shall be open to citizens of the United States, and of the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay, on terms generally similar to those hitherto governing the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowships in the United States. The new fellowships will be granted for independent research and also for training in the various professions, including engineering and teaching. Special consideration will be given to applicants who desire to study political, social, or scientific problems which are common to the countries of North and South America. If the above outlined Latin-American

Exchange Fellowships are successful, the Trustees will consider extending them to the other countries of Latin America as rapidly as proper arrangements can be made.

The stipend for these fellowships, either for Latin America or for the United States, will normally be \$2,500 for twelve months plus a travel allowance proportionate to the distance which the fellows have to travel to the places of their study. The fellowships will be awarded in the first instance for one year, but with the possibility of renewal. For fellows from the Latin-American countries, a knowledge of the English language will not be a requirement; instead, an extra period of from six to eight months, covering the time between the end of the university year in Latin-American countries in December and the opening of the university year in the United States in September, will be allowed where necessary in order to give appointees an opportunity to acquire a working knowledge of English.

It is expected that candidates for these fellowships will generally be graduates of universities or professional schools, or persons who in other respects have taken advantage of the educational facilities available in their own countries in their special fields of study. Fellowships will be open to men and women, without distinction of race, color or creed. Fellows from the United States to Latin America, or from Latin America to the United States, will not be restricted in choice of university or other place of study.

The first appointments in Latin-American countries were made in Mexico in 1930. For the year 1933-1934 nine fellowships have been awarded to scholars from Argentina, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and Puerto Rico.

CHAPTER XIII

CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY COURSES

STUDY of Canadian-American relations in the colleges and universities of the United States has been the exception rather than the rule. Few undergraduate courses in Foreign Affairs and in International Relations have allotted even a minimum of time to the nation which has come to rank first as a market for American exports, and which is the largest single field of American foreign investment. To neither of these relationships has much attention been given. That 62 percent of the foreign capital invested in Canada in 1932 came from the United States and that 56 percent of Canadian investments abroad were in the United States has been taken as a matter of course; that British capital ownership, as well as British capital investment, in Canada is only half as great as American capital investment, appears to have attracted little attention even from students of international affairs. Moreover, collegiate courses on the tariff have been so concerned with European trade barriers that policies that touch the very vital trade of the United States across the northern border have usually been omitted; few, if any, appear to have taken cognizance of the fact that 60 percent to 70 percent of Canadian imports during the last decade came from the United States while more than 40 percent of Canadian exports went to the United States, and that recently there have been deliberate Canadian attempts to redirect that trade.

If one looks at the course in American history, it is with a feeling of discouragement that one reads recent college catalogues. More often than not one finds the familiar descriptions of a quarter of a century ago: Colonial History, The Middle Period, Civil War and Reconstruction, The United States to 1898, Recent American History. Seldom does the description of any course of study in American history give even the faintest suggestion that after the history of the colonial period and the War of 1812, there was a developing nation at the north of us whose evolution has been much influenced by our experience, and whose participation in the westward movement was essential to the conquest

of the continent, a conquest described only in part in the average course entitled, *The American Frontier, History of the Westward Movement, or History of the Northwest*. There are, to be sure, a few exceptions to the general practice. Aside from an advanced course at Bryn Mawr College, American History since 1898, in which the students make special studies of relations between Canada and the United States, the few American history courses known to deviate from the conventional pattern are in North Dakota and Minnesota. Superficially, it is easy to assume that the geographical location has determined the interest; an investigation into the content of the courses, however, reveals other facts. For example, the general survey course in American history given by Professor John Perry Pritchett at the University of North Dakota introduces the student to the United States as a nation having contacts with foreign nations—with Latin America, the Far East, and Canada, as well as with Europe. A second example is found in the courses, *United States to 1865*, and *The Frontier in American History*, given by Professor Grace Lee Nute at Hamline University (St. Paul) who stresses Canadian-American relations because "the economic conditions have been so similar that it is impossible to understand the one without the other."

In geography, also, as in American history, the northern horizon, all too often, appears to have been the Great Lakes and the 49th parallel. The courses listed in college catalogues frequently read as follows: *Geography of Latin America*, *Geography of Asia*, *Geography of Europe*, and *Geography of the United States*. A few notable exceptions might be quoted where the *Geography of North America* is offered as a regional study parallel to the *Geography of Latin America* and to the *Geography of Europe*; here the resources of the North American continent are studied on the basis of natural economic districts, their resources, industries, commerce, and markets. Such courses are offered to students of history and related social sciences, or "to those interested in the political and economic development of North America."

To these noteworthy exceptions in American history and geography should be added an example from a department of economics and business administration. A course given by Professor Macy Milnor Skinner at the University of Washington surveys "economic conditions in Canada, Mexico, and South America, and the trade relations of these regions with the rest of the world, especially the United States."

The unusual courses described are symptomatic of a metamorphosis that has begun in the content of courses in curricula which have for-

merly ignored the existence of Canada. They illustrate not only the broadening of conventional courses to include Canadian-American relations as an integral part of American history, but also they indicate the realization, first, that the United States has developed within a continent that is a geographic and economic unit, and, second, that all the American nations have relations with each other and with the rest of the world.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton, at the University of California in Berkeley, well known for his work in Spanish-American history, was among the first to present effectively to an undergraduate body the point of view that Canada, as well as Latin America and the United States, is part of "the Americas" and that the interrelationships—cultural, racial, economic, and political—across the northern frontier should not be ignored.¹ In the autumn of 1919 he offered a course entitled *History of the Americas*. Within the first year it enrolled 1,258 students. (Recently, enrollment has been limited to about 775.) A similar course original in plan was offered by Professor I. J. Cox, likewise a specialist in Latin-American history, at Northwestern University in 1921. The University of Nevada and the University of Southern California were influenced by Professor Bolton's experiment as early as 1922. The introduction of similar courses elsewhere was stimulated by Professor Bolton's account of what he was doing—which he gave at one of the sessions of the Meeting of the American Historical Association in 1924—and by the publication of his syllabus, *History of the Americas*, in 1928. By 1933 there were nearly a score of imitators. In a few institutions the *History of the Americas* has been made the introductory course, prerequisite for advanced work in United States history. This endeavor literally to present American history has given a new approach to the familiar, but narrowed, content of the so-called "American history" which has been required for college entrance. Yet even at its best, and with adequate library facilities, the time which can be devoted to Canadian-American relations in such a survey course does not often exceed two or three weeks. The point of view, rather than the history of Canada or Canadian-American relations, is the contribution of this remarkable experiment.

It is not without passing interest that junior colleges in particular, in goodly number especially in the West, have borrowed the title and

¹ Professor Bolton's presidential address to the American Historical Association Meeting at Toronto in 1932, entitled "An Epic of the Americas," is the most recent elaboration of his point of view. See *American Historical Review*, January, 1933.

are imitating the content of "History 8a—8b—History of the Americas: A general survey of the history of the western hemisphere from the discovery to the present time . . . the development of the independent American republics, their relations with each other and with the rest of the world." In the realm of scholarship perhaps all these junior college courses are not of very great importance, but in the realm of public opinion they may not be without real value. An approach to American history in the high school and junior college that includes the development and interrelation of all the nations of the Western Hemisphere is a wholesome departure from the narrow nationalism which has too often limited the historical horizon of immature students to the region south of the Lake of the Woods and north of the Rio Grande.

Counterparts of the History of the Americas exist under other titles: The History of the Western Hemisphere (Elmira College), Our Neighbors, Canada and Mexico (Bucknell University), Latin-American and Canadian History (University of Pennsylvania), The Pacific Ocean in History (Occidental College). These are but four of sixteen that could be quoted. They are less spectacular and less well known than the History of the Americas, yet they are interesting examples of a similar purpose. In a few cases they were stimulated by Professor Bolton's experiment, in others they were the result of the desire to lessen the tendency for Latin-American history to become isolated from continental relationships. In every case the new arrangement made it possible to bring Canada and Canadian-American relations within the historical survey of the undergraduate when the course of study was already crowded and the staff fully occupied.

Meanwhile Canada, a self-governing nation within the British Commonwealth of Nations, has attracted the attention of political scientists. Some fourteen universities and colleges, at the present writing, are carrying special courses such as Government of the British Commonwealth of Nations, or Federalism within the British Dominions (University of Wisconsin), or The Government of Canada and Australia (Columbia University). The titles vary. Most of such courses are of recent vintage; a few of them, however, antedate the residence of the first Canadian minister at Washington.

Study of the British Commonwealth of Nations is not, however, confined to the field of political science. There are history courses having similar titles: The British Commonwealth of Nations, or The Empire and Commonwealth. In some cases they bear the simple caption, British

History, or The British Empire; in others, The Expansion of Europe, or British Imperialism. The name does not seem to matter; the truth is that Canada has become such an important part of these courses that the fact is registered in the prospectus of the course. One of the pioneers in this emphasis upon Canadian development within the Empire was Professor William Roy Smith at Bryn Mawr College, who introduced his course on British Imperialism in 1914. By 1933 eleven colleges and universities were known to offer their students courses of this character with approximately two weeks devoted to the study of Canadian development.

But this is not the whole story. There are many more courses of similar character bearing a variety of titles which give no indication in their catalogue descriptions that Canada is singled out for attention. These are primarily in British history, yet by a slight addition of time or an elaboration of lectures and topics assigned to Canada, it has been possible to present Canadian development to the undergraduates when it was quite impossible to add more courses to the program, or when, in the judgment of the department, it appeared to be the better way to include the study of Canadian status and relationships. Evidently many have felt that it was somewhat provincial, in view of the development of recent times, to confine British history to the British Isles. To one who knows the modernized content of these courses, this list of titles is suggestive of old bottles for new wine. There are many familiar captions (barring those including the term "the British Commonwealth") which have been for several decades the usual titles of college courses in English history, yet within these courses a change in content, or emphasis, has followed the change that has taken place in the status of the self-governing dominions within the British Empire, especially during and after the War. It should be remarked in passing that such study of Canadian development does not necessarily include Canadian-American relations; it is often confined to intra-imperial relationships. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that by 1933 some thirty institutions—six universities and twenty-four smaller institutions—were known to be stressing Canadian development in their courses in British history.² Judging by the tendency in this direction, it is easy to assume that this

² In making this study, letters of inquiry have been sent whenever the phraseology in the description of a course has suggested that Canadian development might be included. In other instances, general letters of inquiry as to courses on the History of Canada have brought the statement that "Canada is included in the course on the British Empire." It is not impossible, however, that a course here or there, which has developed this emphasis within the older framework, has been omitted from enumeration here.

emphasis will be introduced more and more, perhaps so imperceptibly that it will appear that it has always been there.

The History of Canada, *per se*, has meanwhile appeared among the list of college courses, usually as a special advanced course for juniors, seniors, and graduate students.

HISTORY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE HISTORY OF CANADA IN COLLEGIATE AND UNIVERSITY COURSES OF STUDY

As quietly as Canada has come into the company of nations, in fact, contemporaneously with her recently developed economic power, the History of Canada has come into the curricula of American universities and colleges. In the fifteen years between 1917 and 1933 about forty institutions introduced specific courses for their maturer students. Professor Mary Wilhelmina Williams at Goucher College (a Latin-American historian, like Professor Bolton) was the first to offer a course in the History of Canada to undergraduates. This was in 1917. In the summer of 1918, Professor Carl Wittke of Ohio State University and Professor Edmond S. Meany of the University of Washington initiated their special courses in the History of Canada. Pioneer courses in Canadian history were also offered in 1918 at Texas Christian University and at the University of North Dakota.

In 1920, Assistant-Professor Reginald George Trotter,³ a Canadian by birth, with the degree of A.B. from Yale, and of Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard University, began teaching Canadian history to the students of Stanford University. To them he later dedicated his *History of Canada: a Syllabus and Guide to Reading* which has been a resource especially to students and teachers in institutions with limited library facilities.

Between the years 1922-1925, Hamilton College (Clinton, New York), Lawrence College (Appleton, Wisconsin), Marquette University (Milwaukee), West Virginia University, and the College of Idaho joined the company of those who would understand the development of the British nation in North America. The patron who founded the chair in American History at Lawrence College requested that Canadian history should be taught. His interest may have come through the lumber business or through family connections; in either case the closeness of relationship between the two countries is revealed, and opportunity for the

³ Professor Trotter's article on "Canadian History in the Universities of the United States," which was published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1927, contains interesting details that have of necessity been omitted from this chapter.

study of those relationships guaranteed. With respect to an endowed chair of American history which shall include Canadian history, Lawrence College is unique. The nearest approach to this endowment for the teaching of Canadian history is the recent (1930) transfer of Professor A. L. Burt from the University of Alberta to the University of Minnesota on the condition that he should teach Canadian history.

In 1926, North Dakota Agricultural College and the University of Redlands, and, in 1927, Columbia University and the University of Maine announced courses in the History of Canada.

College and university announcements between 1927 and 1933 indicate that history departments of eleven universities and fifteen colleges—in all, twenty-six institutions of higher learning in the United States—were giving courses in the History of Canada. Of these twenty-six, the universities not already named are: the Catholic University, Harvard University, the Universities of Minnesota, North Carolina, Colorado, and Montana; the colleges⁴ are: the Universities of Delaware, Detroit, and Vermont, New Mexico State Teachers College, Baldwin-Wallace College (Berea, Ohio), and St. Lawrence University (Canton, New York).⁵

This definite enumeration of institutions seems necessary in order to indicate how little, and yet how much, has been accomplished in the newest field of history study. It is encouraging that smaller institutions, as well as strong universities, have undertaken to include Canadian history as an essential part of their program. Moreover, it is not alone the institutions bordering on Canada that have recognized her developing importance. Texas, New Mexico, and Southern California, along with North Carolina, West Virginia, Delaware, Colorado, Massachusetts, and the District of Columbia, must be counted with border states from Washington to Maine. In slightly more than fifteen years since the inclusion of Canada and the Dominions in the Imperial War Cabinet, where the Prime Ministers of the Overseas Dominions met with the Prime Minister of England on terms of perfect equality "as Prime

⁴ This distinction between college and university follows the classification in the "accepted list" of the Association of American Universities.

⁵ This list does not include the institutions which for various reasons have discontinued their special courses in the History of Canada. At Goucher College, for example, it was thought wiser to retain a course in the British Empire when both that and the History of Canada could not be given. Depleted staffs, due to the recent economic depression, and changed personnel whose interest centers in other fields, necessitated the omission at the University of South Dakota, Michigan State Normal College (Ypsilanti), Gettysburg College, Texas State Teachers College for Women, Trinity University (Waxahachi, Texas), the University of Akron, and the University of Buffalo.

Ministers of Self-governing nations,"⁶ institutions large and small in nineteen states and the District of Columbia have come to recognize the interest and importance to the United States and the world at large of the History of the American Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

If the eighty-eight courses in colleges and universities which, by 1933, had provided for the inclusion of Canadian development as part of their program for as much as an eighth or tenth of their time are counted with full-time courses in the History of Canada, the geographic distribution of the developing interest is even more gratifying. The institutions offering the 115 courses indicated are distributed through thirty-eight states. Yet when the number of students annually including Canadian affairs in their course of study is counted, the situation is not very impressive. From the figures given by those teaching the courses described, it would appear that 400 is a generous estimate for the number of students in courses on the History of Canada. (The course is given yearly in only twelve of the twenty-seven institutions.) For the rest, even including the 775 in Professor Bolton's History of the Americas, there may be about 4,000 students who, for two or three weeks of one college course, have Canada brought within their horizon.

Among the institutions giving the 115 courses described, there are twenty-three universities, three technological institutions, forty-five colleges (seventy-one institutions in all) from the "accepted list" of the Association of American Universities which totals 269 (consisting of forty universities, thirty technological institutions, and 199 colleges). There are, in addition, twenty-nine institutions nominated "accredited" by their regional associations of high schools and colleges. This latter group includes 263 institutions. Thus only about 100 institutions of higher learning, in 1933, out of 532 in the United States, are providing for any undergraduate instruction in Canadian development and Canadian-American relations.

The newest development in the study of Canadian-American relations, is the 1934 project of Princeton University for their "Joint Canadian Field Trip." It is also one of the most interesting examples of recent tendencies in the coordination of disciplines in the study of international relations. For eight summers the Princeton Summer School of Geology and Natural Resources has conducted field trips throughout the United States and Canada, but this summer, with the cooperation of the School of Public and International Affairs, the course

⁶ Sir Robert Borden, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1919, Cmd. 323, pp. 7-8.

is designed to demonstrate economic problems, as well as natural resources. Arrangements have been made for personal contact with Canadian officials and citizens, because as the University announcement explained, "The joint enterprise has been undertaken in the conviction that many of the problems which confront the United States in the politico-economic field, such as problems of natural resources, of agriculture, of land and water transportation, and of labor, cannot be well understood without a knowledge of similar situations in Canada, or brought to a good solution without an exchange of information and ideas and general cooperation between the two countries." The course is composed of undergraduates; and the especially constructed Pullman car, in which the group lives, contains a room for conferences and lectures, and a reference library. The instructors will include a professor of political economy from the University of Toronto, and one professor in economics and two in geology from Princeton University.

GRADUATE STUDY

The enumeration of institutions offering courses in the history of Canada is, however, no measure of the amount of graduate work that has been done in the Canadian field. Perhaps a useful gauge of the amount of advanced study and graduate interest is the number of masters essays that have been written on subjects related to Canadian history. Titles of these studies have been collected and published, annually since 1927, by the *Canadian Historical Review*.⁷ From these lists it is immediately apparent that the interest of American university students in Canada has grown rapidly. The number of masters essays by Americans has increased from one in 1927 to twenty-seven in 1931. Their distribution among universities is also interesting: of the sixty-six listed for this five-year interval, seventeen were presented at the University of California, and twenty-four at Columbia University, even though the Columbia record does not begin until 1929. The remaining twenty-five were distributed fairly evenly, except for five at Stanford University; there were two each at Brown University, Clark University, Cornell University, the University of Indiana, and the State University of Iowa; and one each at the University of Chicago, the University of Colorado, the University of Washington, Washington University, and

⁷ The *Canadian Historical Review* from 1927 through 1932 listed 131 titles of unpublished doctoral dissertations, eighty-four of which were by persons known to hold bachelors' degrees from American universities. It has not been possible to ascertain how many of these were Americans and how many Canadians.

the University of Wisconsin. The number of Canadians presenting their masters' essays—studies of episodes in their own country's development—to universities in the United States has ranged from thirty-six to fifty-nine a year during the five-year interval, 1927-1931. The total number of master's theses presented by Canadians and Americans was 311—they increased from fifty-one in 1927 to eighty-six in 1931.

Nine of the twelve universities just named which accepted masters' essays on Canadian subjects, were not included among the twenty-seven institutions offering courses in the History of Canada, nor were all of them among the universities that were giving instruction in Canadian affairs through courses in political science or in British history. The list of courses is apparently no adequate measure for graduate study of Canadian subjects.

PUBLISHED DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

The published doctoral dissertations deserve to be recounted by name in order to show the extent and character of the research that has already been done. In reality not a great deal has been done; and only the briefest summary can be given here. The first and second dissertations on Canadian-American relations were presented at Johns Hopkins in 1891 and 1897. Others followed in other universities, but only after an interval of twenty-five years was another published at Johns Hopkins. This one, *The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854*, by Charles Callen Tansill, carries the same title as a Yale dissertation by Chalfont Robinson (written in 1902, published in 1911).⁸ The former described the beginnings of the reciprocity movement, the repeal of the English Corn Laws and Canadian business depression that preceded the movement; the latter described the working of the treaty and its abrogation. The third dissertation on a Canadian subject presented to an American university was at Harvard: *The Feudal System in Canada: a Study in the Institutional History of the Old Régime*,⁹ by William Bennett Munro, now professor of Political Science at the California Institute of Technology. The fourth and fifth were at Yale, in 1902 and 1904. The sixth, which was the first of the eight presented at the University of Chicago, appeared in 1904; this, the *Nootka Sound Controversy*, by William Roy Manning, was reprinted by the American Historical Asso-

⁸ Senate Document, Vol. 27, No. 17, First Session, 62d Congress, Washington, 1911.

⁹ This was published in the "Harvard Historical Studies," No. 13, under the title: *The Seigneurial System in Canada: a Study of French Colonial Policy*. New York, Longmans, 1907.

ciation the same year. The second Chicago dissertation, *Canada and the United States, 1815-1830*, was by David Richard Moore, now professor of history at Oberlin College. This was in 1920. In 1923, Harold Adams Innis, now associate professor of political economy at the University of Toronto, published *A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway*; and George W. Brown, now associate professor at the University of Toronto, presented, in 1927, *The St. Lawrence Waterway as a Factor in International Trade and Politics, 1783-1854*. Two of the four remaining Chicago dissertations were published as Hart Schaffner and Marx essays; one was in education, the last was *History of Trade Union Organization in Canada*, by Harold A. Logan (1928).

Before 1933, only one dissertation had been accepted at the University of Michigan;¹⁰ this was in 1905.¹¹ Four other universities—the University of Wisconsin in 1914,¹² the University of California in 1916,¹³ Princeton University in 1924,¹⁴ and Clark University in 1929¹⁵—have each granted the degree of doctor of philosophy to one student in the Canadian field. The Catholic University has accepted five studies on subjects of special interest to Catholics. The University of Pennsylvania and Cornell University have each granted two degrees for work in the Canadian field.

Of the eight Harvard dissertations bearing on Canadian affairs, four more may be designated. *Fur Trade and Empire*; *George Simpson's Journal*, edited by Frederick Merk, now associate professor of history at Harvard, is a memoir of life among the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company's plans for the holding of the Oregon country against competition from the South. In contrast is one of a constitutional character, *Canadian Federation, Its Origins and Achievement; a Study in Nation-Building*, by R. G. Trotter. Still another phase is represented

¹⁰ Professor Arthur Lyon Cross reported two for 1933. Professor Carl Wittke also reported one at Ohio State University. Those of 1933, however, are not listed or counted because the complete list is not yet available.

¹¹ *Relations of the United States to the Canadian Rebellion of 1837-1838*, by Owen Edward Tiffany. (Reprinted from the Buffalo Historical Society "Publications," Vol. VIII.)

¹² *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire: a Comparative Study of the Beginnings of the Mining Industry in Idaho and Montana, Eastern Washington and Oregon, and the Southern Interior of British Columbia, and of Institutions and Laws Based upon that Industry*, by Joseph William Trimble. (University of Wisconsin "Bulletin," No. 638. "History Series," Vol. III, No. 2.)

¹³ *The North-West Company*, by Charles Jordan Davidson. (University of California "Publications in History," Vol. VII.)

¹⁴ *The Unreformed Senate of Canada*, by Robert Alexander MacKay. (Published by the Oxford University Press, London, 1926.)

¹⁵ *Canada and the United States; Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion*, by Hugh Llewellyn Keenleyside. Knopf, 1929.

in *Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness, 1900-1913; an Inductive Study in the Theory of International Trade*,¹⁶ by Jacob Viner, now professor of economics at the University of Chicago. Equally in contrast to the preceding is *Grain Growers Co-operation in Western Canada*, by Harold Smith Patton (1928). This last is an account of the origins and growth of the Canadian Cooperative Wheat Producers until they became the world's largest wheat exporting agency, dealing directly with consumers overseas.

Twenty-five of the sixty published monographs prepared by candidates for the degree of doctor of philosophy in American universities have been presented at Columbia University. The first was in 1907. Two have been written by Chinese: *Governmental Methods of Adjusting Labor Disputes in North America and Australia* (1926), by Ting Tsz Ko; and *Schemes for the Federation of the British Empire*, by Seymour Ching-yuan Cheng. In a related field, *The Dominions and Diplomacy: the Canadian Contribution* (two volumes, Longmans, Green and Company, 1929), by A. Gordon Dewey, now of the department of government, Union College, Schenectady, was accepted as his doctoral dissertation. The United States Bureau of Labor, in 1918,¹⁷ published Benjamin Mark Squire's account of the *Operation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada*, and in 1927 the Russell Sage Foundation published *Postponing Strikes; a Study of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada*, which was Ben Morris Selekman's dissertation. Canadian labor legislation, contemporary and in retrospect, as measured by standards of the International Labor Office, is the content of *A Study of Canadian Labor Laws* (1926), by Boyce M. Stewart. Among the most recent (1932) Columbia dissertations is a study of the *International Joint Commission between the United States and the Dominion of Canada*, by C. J. Chacko. On the other hand, J. Bartlet Brebner, now directing graduate work in the History of Canada at Columbia University (a Canadian like Professors Munro, Innis, Brown, Dewey, Patton, and others whose dissertations have been mentioned), wrote *New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (1927). This is an account of interacting influences of the early years including "the story of the way in which Virginia came to be the model for a Nova Scotia which was in turn to be an example to the 'republican' colonies of New England."

¹⁶ Awarded the David A. Wells prize for the year 1922-23 and published from the income of the fund, Harvard University Press, 1924.

¹⁷ "Bulletin" No. 233, Series No. 8.

The most recent is *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation* (Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1934) by William Menzies Whitelaw, assistant professor of history at McGill University. Dr. Whitelaw's book might be described as a study of the Maritimes and Canada, each in its geographical and economic setting, from the early days of particularism until the time when local movements for union and new responsibilities under systems of self-government became merged in larger plans for a comprehensive federation.

The List of Doctoral Dissertations in Preparation in Universities and Colleges of the United States, published by the Department of Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, December, 1933, includes thirteen titles on Canadian subjects. Three of these subjects are being investigated at Harvard University, two at the University of Iowa, and one each at Bryn Mawr College, Columbia University, Princeton University, the Universities of Chicago, Michigan, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania, and Stanford University. Seven of these thirteen candidates for the doctorate in Canadian history are persons holding their first degrees from Canadian universities. Meanwhile two of the four reported as candidates for the doctorate in Canadian history at the University of Toronto are bachelors of arts of American colleges.

EXTRA-CURRICULA AIDS

Extra-curricula aids to the study of the history of Canada and Canadian-American relations are few. Nothing comparable to the Institute of Pacific Relations for the promotion and integration of research, nor to the less scientific Seminar in Mexico City for facilitating sojourn and study of conditions in a neighboring country, exists. Until 1933 no organs for research, like the Bureau of Economic Research on Latin America at Harvard University, have sponsored projects in the field of Canadian-American relations.

PUBLICATIONS: JOURNALS, SOURCE MATERIAL, TEXTS

American journals whose primary interest lies in the publication of investigation and documents related to Canadian-American development may not be necessary because learned journals of various sorts, and law journals especially, from time to time include articles on Canadian subjects. The Geographical Society's *Bulletin*, the *Journal of Geography*, and *American Anthropology* should be included in this category. University quarterlies, likewise, such as those of the University of North

Dakota, also make their contribution, as well as the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*.

State and local historical societies of the border states have contributed by their collections of documents. The Minnesota Historical Society, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in particular, have been especially interested in the Canadian-American relationships of their regions; their publications of annotated documents are especially valuable. One publication of the Wisconsin society, *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest* by Louise P. Kellogg, deserves special mention.

It is of interest that "The Annals" of the American Academy of Political and Social Science in 1913, and again in 1923, were devoted to Canada and Canadian-American relations. The former, *Canadian National Problems*, was prepared in anticipation of the Centenary of Peace between the nations. The latter, on *Social and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada*, reveals much about the remarkable growth of Canada during the decade that began with the World War.

There are a few American aids to documentary material, which, when listed, reveal how little specialization there has been in Canadian material in the United States. These are as follows:

Dodd, Walter Fairleigh (editor), *Modern Constitutions*: a collection of the fundamental laws of twenty-two of the most important countries of the world, with historical and bibliographical notes. Volume I, pp. 183-225, contains Canada. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1909.

Parker, David W., *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives*. Washington. The Carnegie Institution, 1913.

Munro, William Bennett, *Documents Relating to the Seigniorial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854*; edited with historical introduction and explanatory notes. Toronto. Champlain Society, 1908.

Stock, Leo Francis (editor), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*. Washington. The Carnegie Institution Publication. "Papers of the Division of Historical Research, No. 338."

Moreover, there are no American collections of source material adapted for use in undergraduate courses.¹⁸ The one American textbook

¹⁸ There is, of course, a large body of collected source materials and of monographs on Canadian history. These volumes are little known in the United States because they have been published in Canada or Great Britain. The best recent guide to them is the *Bibliography*, by R. G. Trotter, appended to the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Volume VI, and works published since 1927 are all noticed in *The Canadian Historical Review*. The principal collections of printed source material have come from the Public Archives of Canada and various Provincial Archives, but also worthy of note for their usefulness are

on *The History of Canada* was not published until 1928. This 366 page narrative by Professor Carl Wittke is followed by an appendix of thirty pages containing the British North American Acts of 1867, 1871, 1886, 1907, and 1915. *The British Empire and the United States*, which Professor William A. Dunning prepared in recognition of the century of peace between Canada and the United States, has never been utilized as a text. Its publication in 1915 preceded the newly developing interest in Canadian-American affairs. The opposite was true of Dr. Keenleyside's dissertation, *Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of the Republic and the Dominion*, published in 1929. Its description of the migrations of Canadians into the United States, as well as those of Americans into Canada, is almost alone as a brief account of certain Canadian-American relations since the American Revolution. American texts on the colonial period are more numerous. Three may be mentioned: *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783*, by Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Professor Thomas Maitland Marshall, gives nearly four chapters out of twenty-eight to Canada. There are excellent chapters, all too brief however, in Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley's *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*. This is the first of the volumes in the series, "A History of American Life" (Macmillan, 1929). The most recent volume (1933) is by Professor J. Bartlet Brebner, *The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806*.

Briefly, there is a fair field for American presentation of Canadian-American relations in histories and texts suitable for the undergraduate in American colleges and universities.

FELLOWSHIPS

The scholars who should prepare the data upon which such surveys can be based have only recently been receiving grants and fellowships to assist them to make special studies in this important field of international relations. At present, there are no fellowships especially set aside for those who wish to investigate phases of Canadian experience which would contribute to the understanding of the development of the English-speaking nations of North America in their continental relationships. This statement applies to the general fellowships and

W. P. M. Kennedy's *Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929* (Oxford University Press, 1930), R. McG. Dawson's *Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-1931* (Oxford University Press, 1933), and the two volumes of documents in economic history edited by H. A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower (University of Toronto Press, 1929 and 1933) entitled *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885*.

scholarships open to students of all American institutions of higher learning; it also applies to scholarships and fellowships which are open to students affiliated with specified colleges and universities.

But this does not mean that it is impossible for American students to receive fellowships for study in Canada, or for study of Canadian history; nor does it mean that American fellowships are not granted to Canadians for study in the United States. Many fellowships are designated "unrestricted" and may, in consequence, be used wherever the student wishes. It therefore appears that the use of American fellowships in studies of Canada or Canadian-American relations will be determined by the interest of the individual recipient in subjects which are related to Canadian history and public affairs.

Clark University, however, contrary to the general practice, has given encouragement to special students from the University of British Columbia. Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside, whose dissertation turned textbook has just been mentioned, was The American Antiquarian Society Fellow in American History at Clark University, 1920-1921. Since then Clark University has continued until 1933 to give the American Antiquarian Society Fellowship to a Canadian; except in 1923-1924 it has been given to graduates of the University of British Columbia. The fellowship is now no longer given, but Clark University plans to offer as favorable financial conditions as possible to graduates from that university. Reginald George Trotter, now associate professor at Queen's University, Kingston, is known as "Sometime Parker Travelling Fellow in Canadian History, Harvard University." On the opposite side of the picture, so to speak, are the five memorial fellowships in transportation, endowed by Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal of the Hudson's Bay Company. Preference in the naming of these fellows was to be given to applicants from the American Northwest and from Canada, especially to sons of persons who had been connected with the Great Northern Railway. The Strathcona fellowships are at Yale University.

GRANTS-IN-AID

Grants-in-aid by the Social Science Research Council and the Carnegie Corporation have not neglected the Canadian field. The Social Science Research Council and the American Geographical Society together have sponsored the publication of *The Pioneer Fringe*, by Dr. Isaiah Bowman, and *Pioneer Settlements*, comprising cooperative studies by twenty-six authors, which was edited by W. L. G. Joerg.^{18a} *Prairie*

^{18a} Cf. pp. 89 f.

Settlement: the Geographical Setting, by Dr. W. A. Mackintosh,^{18b} is the first of nine volumes of a series called "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement." It deals with the settlement of the three prairie provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and more especially with the effects that climate, soils, and the development of railroads have had on the spread of population in the area as a whole. The volume also takes up in greater detail settlement and agricultural conditions in the five main subregions of the area—the Red River Valley, the Park Belt, the Prairie Plains, the Forest Areas, and the Peace River Country. The second volume consists of a detailed sociological study of the Peace River Country by Dr. C. A. Dawson of McGill University. Of the remaining seven volumes, one deals with settlement on the forest and mining frontiers of British Columbia and eastern Canada; while six will deal with other aspects of the colonization of the Prairie Provinces—history of settlement, land and administration policies, company colonization, agricultural progress, economic and sociological problems, and ethnic groups.

These studies of pioneer settlement in Canada are part of the whole plan of research in pioneer settlement which was suggested to the National Research Council by Dr. Bowman. Approved by the Council's Division of Geology and Geography, the project received generous financial support from the Social Science Research Council. The American Geographical Society, in turn, is cooperating in an advisory capacity with the Canadian Pioneer Problems Committee which is in charge of the studies of "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement." Altogether it is an outstanding example of international and inter-institutional co-operation in the scientific study of a problem of public importance closely related to the understanding of certain phases of Canadian-American relations.

During the years 1929-1933, the Carnegie Corporation gave a four-year grant to the College Art Association whereby it was enabled to finance art loan exhibitions to seventeen universities and art galleries in Canada. These were distributed from British Columbia to Nova Scotia. During the same period the Corporation has also given art-teaching equipment to seven Canadian institutions, and to one in Newfoundland. This assistance to the arts may not be strictly within the subject under discussion; it is, however, an illustration of American aid.

Since 1932 the Royal Society of Canada has been allotting ten an-

^{18b} Macmillan, Toronto, 1934.

nual fellowships which have been endowed for a period of five years by the Carnegie Corporation. These fellowships, each of \$1,500 value, are to be given to graduates of Canadian universities. As fellows the recipients may choose where they will study. It happens that in 1933 two of the ten chose to study in universities in the United States. It also happens that four of the Fellows in 1932 had already done graduate work at Harvard University in the United States. According to the regulations of the Royal Society, there is no emphasis upon the study of Canadian-American relations.

Grants-in-aid for investigation more strictly related to the study of Canadian public affairs and to Canadian-American relations have been made by the Social Science Research Council since 1927.

In 1927-1928 Dr. Clarence Edwin Carter, professor of history at Miami University, was enabled to study the Letters and Private Papers of Lord Gage, Commander-in-Chief in America, 1763-1775; in 1931 the results were published by the Yale University Press, in two volumes, entitled *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, 1763-1775*. In 1928-1929 and again in 1930-1931, Dr. James B. Hedges, professor of history at Clark University, investigated "Land Settlement and Colonization Work of the Land-Granting Railways of the United States and Canada." From 1929 through 1932 Dr. James Morton Callahan, professor of history at West Virginia University, received aid for two investigations: one, "American Foreign Policy in Relation with Mexico" which was published by the Macmillan Company (1932) under the title *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*; the other, a parallel study, "American Foreign Policy in Relations with Canada." In 1932-1933, Dr. Haviland Scudder McKeel, research assistant in anthropology at Yale University, was enabled to study Cultural Change in Its Psychological and Sociological Aspects anywhere in the United States and Canada; while Dr. James A. Maxwell, was enabled to complete his study on Lord Dufferin and the Difficulties with British Columbia, 1874-1877, which was published in the *Canadian Historical Review* for December, 1931 (XIX, 364-389). Two associate professors of the University of Toronto, one of history, the other of social science, received grants-in-aid, 1932-1933: George W. Brown, a doctor of philosophy of the University of Chicago, was working on The St. Lawrence and the Old Colonial System, 1763-1854; Henry M. Cassidy, a doctor of philosophy of The Brookings Institution, was making an investigation of Unemployment Relief in Canada, 1930-1932. In 1931, a book by Burton W. Hurd and T. W. Grimley,

entitled *Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada*¹⁹ was facilitated by aid from the Council. Likewise, Dr. Reginald George Trotter, associate professor at Queen's, was assisted in the study of *The Background of Canadian Federation*, the results of which were published as "The British Government and the Proposal of Federation in 1858" in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1933 (XIV, 285-292). And finally in 1930-1931 and again in 1933-1934, Dr. Arthur R. M. Lower, professor of history in Wesley College, received grants-in-aid for two projects. The earlier one was "The Economic and Social History of Canada from 1783." The second one concerned "The Canadian Timber Trade: a Study of Mercantilism of the Nineteenth Century British Empire." *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885*, under joint editorship with Professor Harold A. Innis, published by the University of Toronto Press, 1933, was the outcome of the second study.

SPECIAL PUBLICATIONS AND LECTURES

A few books on Canadian subjects have been published on foundation grants by the Yale University Press; for example, the foundation established in memory of Theodore L. Glasgow, Canadian Flight Sub-Lieutenant killed in action at Ypres in 1917, financed the publication of *The French Régime in Prince Edward Island*, by Professor D. C. Harvey, and the *Fur Trade in Canada*, by Professor Harold Adams Innis, was published on the Oliver Baty Cunningham Fund.

It is also true that a few lecture foundations in the United States have found Canadian affairs a field of interest since 1917. In that year Justice William Renwick Riddell, LL.D., F.R.S.C., lectured on the Dodge Foundation at Yale University. His lectures were published in the same year by the Yale Press under the title: *The Constitution of Canada in Its History and Practical Working*. In 1923, Justice Riddell gave four lectures at Columbia University on the Blumenthal Foundation; his subject was *The Canadian Constitution in Form and Fact*. The summary of the lectures with notes was published by the Columbia University Press in the same year.

In 1932, Macmillan published *Some Aspects of the Theories and Workings of Constitutional Law*, which were the Ford Morgan Kirby lectures delivered at Lafayette College in 1931 by Professor William Paul McClure Kennedy of the University of Toronto.

On the other hand, the Marfleet Lectures, on an American founda-

¹⁹ F. A. Acland, Ottawa, 1931, p. 102.

tion, are given every three or four years at the University of Toronto. The subjects of the lectures are required to be in the general field of American-Canadian relations. Those who have filled this chair are Sir Robert L. Borden, G.C.M.G., Ex-President William Howard Taft, Judge John Bassett Moore, Dr. William Bennett Munro and Dr. James T. Shotwell.²⁰

At the University of Chicago, under the Harris Foundation, an institute is held annually for two or three weeks during June or July. The round table discussions are more technical in character than those at Williamstown; in fact they are attended by only thirty or forty specially invited scholars and are of a confidential character. The lectures which supplemented the round table discussions for 1927 were a series describing *Great Britain and the Dominions*.²¹ The less specialized round table conferences led by Dean Percy Ellwood Corbett, of the Faculty of Law at McGill University, at the Williamstown Institute of Politics have also been published. They are entitled *Canadian-American Relations*.²²

In 1921 Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto was invited to deliver six lectures at Wesleyan University on the George Slocum Bennett Foundation, established to provide "Lectures for the promotion of a better understanding of national problems and a more perfect realization of the responsibilities of citizenship." The lectures were published by the Abingdon Press under the title *The United States and Canada*.

In 1928 the Honorable Vincent Massey, Minister of Canada to the United States, lectured at Milton Academy on the Alumni War Memorial Foundation on "How Canada Became a Nation." It was published by Houghton Mifflin Company under the title, *The Making of a Nation*.

A PROJECT OF RESEARCH IN CANADIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

In spite of these indications of a new and growing interest in Canadian problems on the part of American universities it would be hard to find elsewhere more challenging themes for research than Canadian-American relations. From the standpoint of economic interest the most important of the foreign relations of the United States are those with

²⁰ Sir Robert L. Borden's lectures were entitled *Canadian Constitutional Studies*; they were published in 1922 by the University of Toronto Press. Dr. Munro's lectures on *American Influences on Canadian Government*, were published in 1929 (Macmillan). Dr. Shotwell's lectures, *The Heritage of Freedom* (Scribner's Sons), were published 1934.

²¹ University of Chicago Press, 1928.

²² Williamstown, 1929.

Canada. Not only is our trade with Canada larger than that with any other single nation but we have between three and four billion dollars invested in Canadian industries. Equally close are the ties of a common culture and a similar political heritage. No other frontier is crossed and recrossed by so many millions of visitors. Yet compared with the study of European relations, or even with those of South America and the Caribbean, the historians, economists, and social scientists have done relatively little with the deeply involved relationships of the peoples of the Dominion and the United States. There has been a strange lack of realism where one might expect to find it most, namely, in the dealings between these two branches of the English-speaking nation. This situation is all the more to be wondered at when one recalls that the conditions for research in the international field are nowhere else more promising. It is not only that there is no barrier of language—except with respect to Quebec—or of diverse customs to confuse the issue, but that experts are not lacking on both sides of the border who have had identical technical training or training so similar in essentials as to invite cooperation.

In view of these circumstances Professor James T. Shotwell, Director of Research in International Relations of the Social Science Research Council, drew up a plan for a general survey of the problems underlying Canadian-American relations. Each major subject of research was to be placed under the direction of a special technical Committee on each side of the border. These committees would keep in touch with each other during the progress of the work and also with the other technical committees in each country. Thus there would be groups of historians, of economists, of political scientists, and of sociologists each working on their own subject but coordinating returns with their technical colleagues across the line and with their national colleagues at home. By this means it was hoped to secure both thorough-going international cooperation and also a well-rounded statement of the national interests as a whole.

This plan was then presented to the Carnegie Corporation in view of the fact that it was founded to better the intellectual and cultural outlook not only of the United States, but of the British Dominions as well, and to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace because of the fact that such a series of studies would be in the interest of better and friendlier international relations. Both the Corporation and the Endowment accepted this point of view and undertook to support a general survey of Canadian-American relations along the lines just indicated.

The scope of the investigation is planned to cover all phases of Canadian-American relations, because no one subject exists wholly apart from the others. Tariff policy, for instance, has by no means always been determined by economic considerations. National attitudes and resentments and suspicions have found their expression in economics, as well as in other political terms. The mere summing up of statistical data apart from the historical setting and social understanding of them is an unintelligent process. The movement of capital and industry into Canada owed its origin, in part at least, to the training of Canadian engineers in American colleges and the consequent "Americanization" of Canadian plants. The fields of technology and economics constantly overlap. Journalism and literature, transportation and communications, the movement of population and the incidents of history all enter into the formation of national attitudes, which in turn tend to determine future conduct.

In the field of economics, the two major problems are tariffs and the movement of capital and industry. No authoritative studies have ever been made of either of these questions of Canadian-American relations, taking into account their political and social implications. The existing literature fails to explain national attitudes and policies. Yet these two questions have been for at least a quarter of a century the dominating facts in Canada's economic foreign relations. The tariff has been the chief question between its political parties at elections and either directly or indirectly has determined politics between elections. The movement of American capital into Canada—the so-called American invasion—is about twice as great as the economic hold of the Mother Country in the Dominion.

The importance of transportation and communication needs no emphasis in view of our interest in railways and waterways. Nevertheless, the problems in this field are far more complex and have been less studied by economists than either production or consumption. Canada, even more than the United States, is the creation of national systems of communication, and the questions which this fact has raised have entered more deeply into its national history. Yet the influence of American technology and capital upon this process, as well as the problem of furnishing an outlet to American markets, presents questions which have only partially been covered by scientific investigation.

Along with transportation, the question of fisheries has come up at every attempt at tariff negotiation with the United States. It is proposed not only to deal with the problem in terms of international law, but also

as an industry similar to other industries and to analyze its economic importance in certain sections of both countries.

The movement of population has in recent years won recognition as one of the most important elements in the understanding of the world today. The study of this "peaceful penetration" on both sides of the Canadian frontier has yet to be made. The contribution which it has offered to intellectual, as well as economic, life calls for study by both sociologists and historians.

In the field of history there has never been a thoroughgoing study, either in Canada or in the United States, of those elements of political or social causation which determine the trend of Canadian-American policy. The mere chronicle of political events explains nothing. This is a problem for social history, that phase of historical research which has reached its highest development in the United States.

To the sociologist falls the most difficult and least tangible of all the fields of research of the social sciences, that of the measurement of national attitudes. Although the merest surface acquaintance with Canadian politics, journalism, and literature reveals a deepening sense of irritation at the contacts which come from the United States, no attempt has yet been made to analyze the situation. Obviously, here is a subject calling for all of the caution and experience of the social sciences.

The study of politics, as the repository of so many of these trends and forces and the formal expression of national life, presents, along with the questions of the day, subjects fundamental for the understanding of the development of constitutional government and its capacity to meet the needs of democratic nations. The adequate expression of Canadian nationality within the British Commonwealth of Nations is more than a dual question of political adjustment; it must include all the varied elements of a federal organization extending across the continent. The interplay of local, national, and international interests with similar situations in the United States furnishes the obvious framework of research, but the real problem is the impact of foreign interests upon these self-governing communities. The Ottawa Conference showed how real these influences are.

In the field of law it has been suggested that much could be gained by a comparative study of both the law itself and its administration, and that in this area, as in other areas, the United States has much to learn from the experience of its northern neighbor.

It goes without saying that any such survey of international relations as is here contemplated would be incomplete if there were not an

adequate section covering the field of international law. The arbitrations affecting Canadian or American claims are not only important for the relations of the two countries but are outstanding in the history of international arbitrations. Treaty relations are equally significant and becoming more so all the time. The work of international commissions should be viewed from the standpoint of international law, as well as from that of the political structure of the two countries. But while the section on international law furnishes a natural conclusion to the whole survey, it will be under the direction of the Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment, and will be carried on independently of, but parallel to, the researches which fall under the direction of the Division of Economics and History.

Finally, there is the field of education, including not only the formal instruction of universities, colleges, and the school systems of both countries, but also the whole wide range of what may be termed adult education. It is in this field that the results of research in all the others will have to be summarized or restated in terms that will affect the outlook of coming generations and help in the creation of sound public opinion by both the written and the spoken word. The analysis of social and political data need not be any the less scientific if it is to be used ultimately for the practical purpose of clarifying and informing the thinking of those who determine the policies of a nation, whether directly through governments, or indirectly through the organs of democracy. But the use of scientific data in education, both formal and popular, is itself a challenging subject of research. Much harm has been done to international relations by well-meant, but ill-considered, plans for bringing into the curriculum a broader outlook in international relations. The school system is the great conservator of the public opinion of the past presented to the coming generation as the embodiment of fundamental principles which become axiomatic in a nation's attitude toward itself and its neighbors. It would be highly injudicious to attempt to interfere with the processes of national education by propaganda of any kind, even in a good cause. Any effective change must come from within. It must be recognized by educational authorities as a natural and valid adaptation to the situations which research discloses. There must be no surrender of genuine national values, even for the sake of improved international relations. On the other hand, however, the educational authorities should be aided in their effort to secure for the schools an adequate appraisal of the results of research, so that educational policy as a whole may be better informed. This holds

equally in the field of adult education, although there the absence of a formal curriculum makes the problem less difficult.

As a contribution towards the solution of this major problem in education, it is proposed to set up, first in the United States and then, if possible, in Canada, small committees of leading educational authorities to deal with the place of international relations in the school curriculum, of which Canadian-American relations would form a natural part. For this purpose it is proposed to use the *Year Book* of the National Society for the Study of Education, the preparation of which for the coming year has been entrusted to the Director of the Division of Economics and History of the Endowment. Further plans await the completion of the project as a whole.

PART FOUR

EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS

CHAPTER XIV

STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE SCHOOLS

DIFFICULT as it may be to appraise college instruction in international relations, it is, after all, much easier than in the case of the school system below college grade. No survey of this elusive field has ever been made, and yet it is recognized by all students of education that many of the determining factors in academic, as well as national, outlook are the product of the schools rather than of the colleges. In passing, it may be well to remember that only a relatively small proportion of the public school constituency ever go to college, that while 125 out of every 1,000 adult Americans are high-school graduates, only twenty-five out of 1,000 are college graduates. It is for this reason that a pioneer effort has been made in the section which follows to present a picture of education in international relations as it seems to be developing at the present time in the public and private schools of the United States.

FACTORS DETERMINING THE CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN SYSTEMS OF EDUCATION

One of the most striking things about the American system of education is that there is no national system. The Federal Government has no control over the administration, organization, subject matter, or materials used by the schools of this country. The system is organized on the assumption that decentralization of authority is the best method of adapting each school to the necessities of the area which it serves.

The unit of control for educational affairs is usually the town or the school district; in the South, the unit is the county. The largeness of the number of school districts and the smallness of the population included in the average school district are well indicated by one of the consequences of extreme decentralization of control: the fact that there are over 150,000 one-room, one-teacher elementary schools in the United States.

The unit of support and control of the high schools is the school district in twenty states, the township in fifteen states, the county in thir-

teen states, and in one state, Delaware, the state itself. In general, the largest unit of control is the city school system.

In recent years there has been a tendency for the states to assume more supervision of education. The state departments of education influence the curriculum by prescribing or suggesting a program of study, by providing minimum courses of study in the various subjects, by regulation of the conditions under which teachers and pupils work, by minimum requirements for graduation, and by advising with the local school authorities.

The present situation in regard to state control of the schools is illustrated by the legislation regarding the selection of textbooks to be used in the schools. In eight states the adoption of textbooks is in the hands of state authorities; the same is true in four others, with the exception of certain cities or districts. Nine states limit the adoption to those on accredited lists; while three others give power to the state department of education to determine the method of adoption or to secure the use of uniform texts. In the remaining twenty-seven states the method of adoption is by the selection of the local education authorities.¹

Yet the individual educational systems exhibit more uniformity in organization and teaching materials than we should expect under great decentralization of control. There are in reality quite a few forces at work which tend to mold into a single general pattern the separate school systems. First, there are the textbooks. Since schools in the United States make much use of textbooks, and since acceptable or successful texts are usually sold on a nation-wide scale, quite naturally, the identity in teaching materials found in schools using the same textbooks makes for standardization in curricula. Secondly, there are the teachers' organizations and the magazines serving teachers. The National Education Association enrolls approximately one-fifth of the nation's teaching staff. Through the exchange of ideas afforded by such organizations, and by their journals and other educational magazines, there tends to be formed a homogeneity of opinion in the body of the teaching profession. This cannot help but be a force in molding the individual schools toward a common likeness. A third factor making for similarity is the large teacher-training institutions. Many teachers attend these institutions either in preparation for entering the profession or as part of their in-service training. Again, there is a tendency toward uniformity of opinion among the teachers attending a given institution.

¹ Trovel, Oliver Leonard, *State Control of Secondary Education*, "University research monographs," No. 4, Baltimore, Warwick and York, 1928.

Research organizations are a fourth factor making for likeness among the diverse small systems. Foremost of these, the United States Office of Education, in the Department of the Interior, devotes much of its energy to the collection and dissemination of statistical information, and to the conduct of research and inquiries into all phases of school life. Endowed organizations like the General Education Board, the Carnegie Foundation, and the Commonwealth Fund are active in the promotion of educational research.

A fifth and very important factor which affects the curricula of American schools is the activity of unofficial associations of one sort or another. Such groups, having a program which they wish to see adopted by the adult world and realizing the importance of education, strive to have the schools incorporate into the regular courses of study or the program of extra-curricular activities such materials as would create attitudes and knowledge favorable to the views of the unofficial organizations. As an instance of the attitude of these organizations we find the National Council for the Prevention of War stating: "It is difficult, almost impossible, to reform an adult generation, to get it to change its disposition or nature, as well as its viewpoint, but the young are unprejudiced and will be very much as they are taught. If instruction in our schools is towards the application of the Golden Rule on an international scale, we shall make definite progress even within this generation."² It is easy to see that this organization and others working along similar lines, operating on a nation-wide scale, may introduce the same materials into many school systems and thus produce similarity despite the decentralization of control.

College entrance requirements are the sixth force making for uniformity in American schools. Each semester, examinations are given on the basis of which high school graduates are admitted, or rejected, by the colleges. Preparation for these examinations molds the work of the senior high schools, and their influence reaches even into the junior high school grades. In New York State the examination of the State Regents Board acts strongly to cause the high schools in that state to adopt curricula and courses of study that have much in common. On a national scale, the examinations of the College Entrance Examinations Board perform a like function.

² Florence Brewer Boeckel, *Across Borderlines* ("Books of Goodwill," Vol. II, National Council for the Prevention of War, 1926), Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, p. v of Foreword. (After Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, p. 78. Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part III, Scribner's Sons, 1933.)

Any attempt to influence education in the United States must take cognizance of the fact that change occurs only through the action of local authority. The centralizing agencies—textbooks, teachers' organizations, teacher-training institutions, research organizations, unofficial organizations, and college entrance examinations—may be used to affect the separate educational systems. Similarly, an appraisal of the present situation in education must take into account not only the actions of the many local systems, but also those of the centralizing forces enumerated above.

THE PRESENT SITUATION IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

No survey is available as to the entire extent of the teaching of international relations in the schools of the United States. The only indication we have of the amount of such teaching has been obtained from studies of small groups of school systems.

Curtis G. Gentry, in an as yet unpublished dissertation on "Teaching International Civics in the Public Schools," reported that he sent questionnaires to the heads of departments of civics in 100 cities east of the Mississippi; he received sixty-four replies. Of these four had a special course in International Relations; thirteen taught international relations by supplementary books in connection with history courses; one reported a course in International Relations in Grade 8A; four taught international relations in a course on Problems of American Democracy; eleven taught international relations in connection with current events; five reported it not worth while to give a special course; seventeen were thoroughly indifferent as to how, or whether or not international relations should be taught; and three reported International Clubs in high schools. Thus, roughly estimated, 6 percent of the secondary schools are teaching regular systematic courses in International Relations. (No allowance is made here for a selective factor operating among those who answered the questionnaire. It is safe to say that the percentage of teaching of international relations would be lower among those school systems which did not answer the questionnaire.)

Dr. George S. Counts, in 1926, made a study of the time devoted to various studies in the senior high schools of fifteen cities. He found that from 7 to 17 percent (average, 11 percent) of the total recitation time was devoted to social studies. Of this time, 9 to 39 percent (average, 6 percent) was given over to the study of world history. That is, on the

average, about one-half of one percent of the pupils' time in school was taken up in the study of world history. However, there is good reason for the belief that conditions have improved considerably in this respect during the past seven years.

In a similar study, Dr. James M. Glass, in 1924, showed that international relations received less than 4 percent of the total time devoted to history in grades five to nine, inclusive. (This study included eleven cities throughout the United States.)

As to the teaching of international relations in the elementary schools, an indication of the frequency and scope of such teaching is found in the data given in the table on p. 312. This table presents the result of a count of items by Alice Elizabeth Carey, Paul R. Hanna, and J. L. Merriam in *Catalog of Units of Work, Activities, Projects, etc., to 1932*.³ The volume represents a compilation of the total literature on activity programs in the elementary school. There are recorded all those activities, undertaken in the schools, which have been published as magazine articles, pamphlets, courses of study or books. In all, there are more than 7,000 items in the book. They have tabulated by grade and subject all items (except those for which a book is the reference) which could conceivably have something to do with the teaching of international relations. The table will give some clue as to subject matter, grade placement, and amount of material on international relations to be found in the better work being done in the schools of the United States.

It will be noticed that the most popular of such studies are those dealing with the more picturesque foreign countries. Direct study of international problems is present to a very small extent. The most popular

³ Published by Lincoln School Research Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

312 EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SUBJECT AND GRADE-PLACEMENT OF THOSE ITEMS DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FOUND IN THE CATALOG OF UNITS OF WORK, ACTIVITIES, PROJECTS, ETC.^a

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Grade I</i>	<i>Grade II</i>	<i>Grade III</i>	<i>Grade IV</i>	<i>Grade V</i>	<i>Grade VI</i>	<i>Grade VII</i>	<i>Grade VIII</i>
Holland	2	14	24	6	1	2	2	1
Japan	1	2	22	8	8	8	0	0
Travel	0	0	10	12	7	2	1	1
Europe	0	0	2	2	0	19	1	4
Greece	0	0	2	8	4	10	2	1
Switzerland	0	1	12	13	2	0	0	0
South America	0	0	0	0	16	11	1	3
China	1	1	14	4	2	2	0	0
Africa	1	0	6	6	4	6	0	1
Egypt	0	0	1	7	3	4	0	0
International Friend- ship	1	1	3	3	4	1	2	2
Philippine Islands .	0	0	6	0	4	0	9	0
People of other lands	0	2	9	2	2	0	0	0
Asia	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	1
Great Britain	0	1	2	0	1	10	0	0
Mexico	0	1	4	0	8	1	0	0
Scandinavia	0	0	2	5	1	4	0	0
Mediterranean	0	0	0	9	1	2	0	0
Hawaii	0	0	2	4	2	1	1	1
Arabia	0	4	4	3	0	0	0	0
Interdependence ..	1	0	2	2	5	0	2	0
Panama	0	1	1	1	4	3	0	0
U. S. Possessions ..	0	0	0	1	5	1	1	0
Immigration	0	0	0	0	2	4	1	1
France	0	0	1	0	2	5	0	0
Germany	0	0	0	2	1	4	0	0
Australia	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	1
Canada	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0
Spain	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0
Russia	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
India	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Central America ..	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Balkans	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Italy	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0
West Indies	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Orient	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total International Items	7	28	131	100	112	119	29	19

^a The approximate total number of entries for each grade in the *Catalog* is: Grade I, 1,500; Grade II, 1,400; Grade III, 1,350; Grade IV, 1,100; Grade V, 1,150; Grade VI, 1,000; Grade VII, 450; and Grade VIII, 400.

of the subjects listed, Holland, was twentieth from the top in the showing of popularity of all topics listed in the *Catalog*, being preceded by such items as Animals, Christmas, Fair, Farm, Food, Garden, Indians, Insects, and Puppets. The subjects we have listed show a tendency to be more popular in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

THE SURVEY BY THE OFFICE OF EDUCATION, DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

The Commissioner of Education under date of October 6, 1932, addressed a letter to each of the superintendents of the forty-eight states and the District of Columbia, in which he said:

I wish to ascertain rather fully just what is being done in the primary, elementary, and secondary schools of the United States in the way of training for world peace and better international relations. I shall be grateful to you if you will (a) outline for me what is being taught in the schools of the State in this respect and cite me any references to your courses of study and texts; and (b) tell me of any city school systems or schools in the State from which I can get more specific information as to the method being used and the subject matter that is taught.

Replies were received from thirty-eight state offices and the District of Columbia. In addition to the ten states which made no reply, twelve state offices of education reported little or nothing in their curriculum. On the other hand twenty-six states reported that more or less work was being done in this field, the quality and quantity of it varying greatly. One of the largest states reported that a course in American history and civics prescribed for every high school in either eleventh or twelfth grade deals with world peace and international relations. Offices of education in a number of states explained that without any definitely organized course of this character, informal instruction in international relations was frequently given in social science classes. Among the better reports received are the four following:

In the *New York State Syllabus in History* is a detailed outline of seven pages setting out the topics to be studied under the heading "Peace." These are: Internationalism and the ways in which it is promoted, International law, Attempts to secure Peace prior to 1914, League of Nations, World Court, Locarno Conference, 1925, Kellogg Pact, and Disarmament.

In the state of Washington training for international good will is an important objective in the primary, elementary, and secondary schools. At the primary level children have vicarious experiences in the life,

home-making, and recreation of children and adults of various parts of the world. Emphasis is placed upon the contributions of these peoples to our civilization. In the upper elementary grades, materials relating to the achievements of people all over the world are stressed. In the sixth grade the objective set for the teaching of United States history is to create appreciation of the contributions of all civilizations to American civilization; this is to give a background for the development of international good will. In the high school social science program there is a course in American and International Problems.

The Iowa course of study for elementary schools lists a series of four problems dealing with international relations, the most important of which is: "How to provide other means than war for the settlement of international disputes." The high school course in world history includes the study of the following pertinent topics: Efforts to Promote Better International Relations, the League of Nations, the Court of International Justice, the Washington Disarmament Conference, Locarno Agreements, and the Kellogg Peace Pact. In American history the course calls for the study of eleven items—those named above and similar ones—studied from the viewpoint of the people of the United States.

In Kansas the state department of education reported a special course of study in international relations which has been followed since 1930 by from 40 to 50 percent of the high schools in the state. The plan was so remarkable that in response to requests from school people and persons interested in the study of international relations, the pamphlet describing the course has been distributed to nearly all the countries of the world. A brief outline of the course will be given below with other specific examples of good work.

On March 23, 1933, the Office of Education sent out a second questionnaire dealing with this subject, which included the following questions:

1. Do you have a State Course of Study?
2. If yes, what districts are exempt from using it?
3. Does peace have a regular place in the curricula of Elementary Grades?
Junior High School? Senior High School?
4. Do schools of your State give attention to the Kellogg Pact?
5. Is the work done (1) required? (2) elective? (3) extra-curricular activity?

To this questionnaire forty-one replies were received, of which the following is a summary:

No to everything	18
Yes to everything	8
Incidental	4
Tendency to include, not required.....	2
Optional	1
Peace, <i>no</i> ; Kellogg Pact, <i>yes</i>	2
Peace, <i>yes</i> ; Kellogg Pact, <i>no</i>	1
Extra-curricular activities	2
Under local control	1
Indirect	1

The Office of Education in commenting upon the replies received, "Probably the extent and quality of the training is under- rather than over-drawn." This statement is substantiated by reliable data available from other sources.

In summary, it would be fair to draw the conclusion that the study of international relations is quite meager in the elementary and high schools of the United States. Bare statistics furnish us no clue as to the content of the courses dealing with international relations, nor the equipment of those teaching the courses. That the inclusion of such additional information would make the general picture even more disappointing is highly probable.

As it is obvious that the mere labeling of a course as World History does not serve as an earnest that it will advance the knowledge of international understanding; on the other hand it is true that the content of many courses not so labeled often does have the effect of promoting interest and knowledge in regard to international affairs. In fact, Chamberlain and Smith⁴ have discovered that 450 American educators were overwhelmingly in favor of using the indirect method in educating for world friendship. Other studies support this viewpoint.

This part has confined itself to a general survey of the situation at the present time. The following section will set forth some of the more hopeful developments—the bright spots in the picture.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMS FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

There are at least ten of the larger school systems in the United States (Boston; Denver; Long Beach, California; Los Angeles; Sacramento; St. Paul; Salt Lake City; St. Louis; Portland, Maine; and

⁴Smith, H. L., and Chamberlain, L. M., *An Analysis of the Attitudes of American Educators and Others toward a Program of Education for World Friendship and Understanding*. Indiana University Press, 1929.

Fordson, Michigan) which have interesting programs for the study of international relations. Six states (Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, New York, Oregon, and Pennsylvania) have been similarly active in this field. The figures given above are minimums; we know of what these systems have been doing but have made no exhaustive search for other examples of excellent work. Special mention should be made of the fact that instruction tending to emphasize the international point of view is especially characteristic of the schools of Quakers.

The city of Denver has courses of study in the social sciences which place a fine emphasis on international relations. Below are described all those sections in the social sciences which are of interest to us.

In Grade 3A there is a unit on Life in Foreign Lands, describing life in Holland, Japan, Arabia, Switzerland, African Congo, Norway and Sweden, Italy, and Russia. This course is designed to build up these basic generalizations: "People of all lands have common fundamental needs, such as clothing, food, shelter, and recreation. How these needs are satisfied depends upon geographical environment and a willingness to change old habits, customs and traditions."

In Grade 6A is studied Our American Neighbors and How They Live. The basic generalizations of this course are: "The United States shares the Western Hemisphere with many neighbors. Their agricultural and industrial development has been determined largely by favorable or unfavorable geographical environment. Because of the difference in climates, natural resources, products, and stages of development, interdependence has grown up between the United States and the other parts of the Western Hemisphere." The separate sections of this course are: (1) How the forests and jungle lands affect life in South America; (2) How South America makes use of the rich mineral resources; (3) Why the ABC countries have contributed most to the development of South America; (4) How conditions in the outlying possessions of the United States encourage interdependence between them and the United States; (5) How Panama became a world highway; (6) Why Mexico has rich possibilities for future development; and (7) How geographic influences determine the economic development of Canada.

In Grade 6B there is a unit on How Interdependence Developed in the Economic Life of the United States, in which one section deals with international interdependence.

In Grade 7 the course in civics devotes one section to the effects of improved methods of transportation; the course in history includes the

effects of European intervention in China, while that in geography deals widely with the commercial relations of other countries.

The Grade 8 course in history includes, among other things, the following: the Spanish-American War, Imperialism and World Politics, the Conflict in Europe, the World War, the Peace Conference, the League of Nations and Versailles, and Problems in Foreign Relations.

The Grade 9 course in civics contains a section on Comparative Government and a large unit on International Relations which cover the history of the international relations and pacific policies of the United States. It includes a survey of early isolation, the Monroe Doctrine, the Open-Door policies in the Caribbean and the Philippines, the interest in present day Europe in such matters as the debts, reparations, and trade, the study of pacific settlement of international disputes, arbitration, Pan American conferences, the League of Nations and trade agreements, the World Court, the Locarno Pact, and the movement for disarmament. There is also a unit on political geography which deals especially with centers of international dispute in Europe and the Far East.

In the senior high school in the course in World History one of the general understandings to be developed is described as follows: For the greater part, political rights and nationality were won by the use of military force. While scientific and social advancement were bringing civilization to a new high level, there was also developing militarism, nationalism and national rivalries. Men were gaining power, but were not gaining ability to use that power properly, nor to live together peacefully. World cataclysm resulted. In the course on American Problems there is one portion devoted to international economic problems, which treats of tariffs, debts, and the economic aspects of war. There is also an advanced course for the twelfth year (senior high school pupils) on World Relations which is designed to supplement the tenth-year course in World History in order that pupils may become familiar with the problems of international relations of current interest and to develop the story of some countries more intensively than is possible in World History.

The department of education of the state of Kansas has issued a special pamphlet containing a supplementary course of study for high school history and social science entitled *International Relations*. It was prepared by a group of students in the summer school of the University of Kansas, who were working under Mr. L. W. Brooks, director of secondary education of the city of Wichita. The plan was strikingly

original when inaugurated; it continues to merit attention. In brief the outline defines the aims as two: the ultimate, world peace and prosperity; the immediate, international good will and understanding. This study of international relations is divided into seven topics. The first, Good Will and Tolerance at Home, begins in the classroom; the discussion is applied to the school, the community, the nation. The second unit, entitled Introduction to International Understanding, explains how "our changing environment makes us world citizens" and "how nations depend on one another." In the third unit, Information about Our Neighbors, is analyzed and described as social, political, and economic. Foreign Affairs, which is the fourth major subject discussed, comprises the following topics: Our State Department, American Foreign Policy, International Organizations, Rules Governing International Relations, Economic Problems of International Relations, and Dependencies of the United States. In brief, if a comment may be permitted, this fourth unit for study is a summary of university fields of concentration in international relations already described.⁵ The whole educational program from the elementary school through the university has very obviously been affected by the challenge of the contemporary problems in international relations which have developed since the War.

The fifth unit of study in the Kansas plan is unique; it is entitled Causes of Understanding and Effects of War. The six causes listed are: narrow nationalism, nationalist propaganda, psychological causes, imperialism, medievalism and armaments, and secret diplomacy. The effects are to be treated in categories: social, economic, political, and effects upon the common people. International Organizations for Peace is the topic which, according to the outline, is set over against War, Its Causes and Effects. The Peace organizations are classified as earlier and later, the former being the Hague Conference and the Pan American Union, the latter the post-War organizations and conferences. Those listed for discussion are: The League of Nations, the Locarno Pact, the World Court, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the London Naval Conference, and Briand's Proposal of "The United States of Europe." The final topic, the seventh unit defined for study, discussion, and cultivation, is The International Mind.

Programs of similar character are being developed in many parts of the country. In Los Angeles, in particular, the project was quite different in character from that in Denver or the Kansas plan. In 1926, Mrs. Susan M. Dorsey, then superintendent of schools in Los Angeles,

⁵ Cf. pp. 199-203, 205-208.

appointed a World Friendship Committee. The function of this committee of fifteen teachers, principals, and supervisors was that of planning ways to increase international understanding and good will on the part of boys and girls in the schools of Los Angeles. To that end the committee directed its attention to the following extra-curricula activities:

The annual celebration of Armistice and International Good-Will Day with appropriate plays, pageants, recitations, and talks.

The annual oratorical contest on World Friendship, the finals of which constituted a regular session of the Teachers Institute.

International school correspondence under the auspices of the Junior Red Cross, or the Ministers of Education in foreign countries.

National examination contest on the League of Nations.

Presentation of a Model Assembly or of a Model Council Meeting of the League of Nations.

The federation of high school World Friendship clubs.

Christmas card contest; Song-writing contest.

Dedication of one issue of the weekly or annual publications to the theme of World Friendship.

Monthly radio talks.

The preparation of exhibits on World Friendship for the Los Angeles meeting of the National Education Association.

The World Friendship Committee of Los Angeles also prepared a book, *World Friendship*, embodying the methods and results of their early experience. The publication and distribution of this book and the preparation of an exhibit for the meeting of the National Education Association indicate the manner in which educational innovations appear and spread in the United States. The innovation is adopted by one school system; then, through the publication of books, through magazine articles, and through the presentation of papers or exhibits at the meetings of educational associations, the educational world comes to learn of the "experiment." It is then tried by other schools; and if the response is a good one the innovation becomes an accepted part of the school program.

Extra-curricular activities in nearly all school systems in the United States quite generally make use of the assembly period. At the assembly the school, as a whole, acts as audience to the presentation of plays, recitations, lectures, etc. Naturally, this opportunity for education has not been neglected by those interested in increasing the world understanding of children. Programs have been prepared, making use of

plays, pageants, recitations, music, and outside speakers, showing the contribution of other nations in practically all the subjects of school instruction. Programs of this character have been printed and tested on a nation-wide scale and their effectiveness has been tested by such instruments of measurement as the Neumann Attitude Test.

WORLD CITIZENSHIP PROGRAMS IN PROGRESSIVE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The decentralization of authority in the public school system of the United States, with the resulting differences between the local units, has been noted. In the very nature of the case the work done in private schools for boys and girls is even more individual and more difficult to classify and to tabulate. The private schools make important contributions to education and to the social order through their freedom to carry on experimental programs and to do pioneer work. Although it is difficult to measure either the quantity or the quality of the teaching of international relations in these schools, it is none the less true that not only individual institutions but groups of private schools are deeply interested and are also developing a technique of approach to the subject, beginning to be called International Civics, which is significant.

The schools which are developing the Progressive Education movement stress the general concept of World Citizenship in their programs. To quote Miss Louise Krueger (Mrs. Harold Rugg):

The New Education in the private schools of America has always included as one of its purposes the building of international understanding. There is no need then of pointing out the necessity for this emphasis or its great significance in the lives of those who will be citizens of tomorrow. The point of view has been clear. It is to the methods by which children and young people attain these attitudes of tolerant understanding and sympathetic co-operation that the thinking of new school educators has been directed.

Some schools have approached the problems through a systematic study of ways of living in other countries. This introduction has not been made through the limited amount of material presented in the conventional geography textbook which children read and commit to memory, but through a great variety of experiences and activities with a wide range of materials. Moving pictures, slides, magazines, and other visual aids orient the children to people and places. They take excursions to the museums or the regions where these groups live. They read many books relating to all aspects of group living.

Nor is there mere passive appreciation of the new subject matter. The

children themselves reproduce as nearly as possible in play or story, dance or song, the folk lore and legends, historical episodes and dramatic events in the life of each people. Active participation creates the mood and feeling so necessary for full appreciation. In a word, every avenue of approach to learning is used and all the factors which produced each civilization are introduced, the social and cultural, as well as the economic and political, in their historical and contemporary setting. And the uniqueness of each national group is recognized, its particular character as well as its contributions to the promotion of civilization and culture. At no time, of course, is a point made of the "strangeness" of other peoples. Rather, certain universal human qualities which one will find in men of all countries are brought out, so that youth will see that different costumes and different manners might only conceal some of the same characteristics common to all men.

With this approach much new material is therefore introduced into the curriculum of these schools. The content is richer and more varied, and there is definite opportunity for accurate and wide knowledge. In the junior and senior high school this leads to a direct study of international problems.

But the task of building understanding does not end with providing a good background of subject matter. "Knowledge about" does not necessarily imply "feeling for." There is the additional problem of creating attitudes which, combined with meaning, will make for sustained and sound judgment. Some of the new schools, therefore, begin with the thesis that if young people are to learn how to be tolerant, they must be put into countless situations in which practice in tolerance and sustained judgment is provided. Recognition of the need for effective social living is not produced by admonition and precept. Therefore the school environment is such that solving problems becomes one of the most essential activities of the students. But to make this training effective in wider and more complex relationships such as those implied in world affairs is by far the most subtle and difficult, but certainly one of the most fundamental problems of education. It is the most hopeful lead to producing a thinking citizenry.

Therefore no one approach to the problems of international relations will solve them. Much more experimentation and study will be needed. But the task is clear—to build a background of meaning and attitude which will eventuate in the recognition of the need for penetrating insight and effective action. And the new schools are making a beginning of the task.

The Francis W. Parker School of Chicago is the one example which will be given by way of illustration of what is being done by those schools which are developing the Progressive Education Movement. The following statement describes some of the work of this school in the field of international relations:

Throughout the year the subject of International Relations has been a fundamental part of the course in Economics, United States History, and Modern History. The Economics group has made a careful study of the United States tariff policy and its effects upon foreign relations. Members of this group have attended lectures given by the University of Chicago on the economic foreign policies of the United States. The United States History group has made a study of the political foreign policy of the United States and the change that has taken place since the War in making the United States the greatest creditor nation in the world. It has noted how this economic world relationship has been paralleled by a political isolationist policy. Thus the United States has been trying to go in two different directions at the same time.

It is hardly necessary to mention the fact that the Quaker schools have always been foremost in promoting courses of study and activities making for international understanding and good will. They are still pioneers in creating those attitudes and insights which are the basis of all genuine international cooperation.

The International Schoolboy Fellowship is a significant attempt to promote international understanding and good will undertaken by a group of private secondary schools. Mr. N. H. Batchelder, headmaster of the Loomis School, describes the work of this organization as follows:

The major activity of this organization is inviting fifteen English boys here each year on free scholarships. These boys are distributed among American boarding schools, and the influence of having an English boy in a school I am sure is very considerable. At the time of the Thanksgiving Dinner at Kent last fall, the English schoolboy visitor spoke on the same program with Governor Cross and President Angell, and I am told he was heard with at least equal eagerness. At the finals of our Public Speaking Contest this week, one of our English guests will speak on the subject of English and American Schools. The whole relationship is informal, but nevertheless effective. This coming year we shall have received boys from Wellington College; Eton College; Liverpool College; Epsom College, Surrey; Radley College, Cheltenham College, Blundell School, Lindisfarne College, Winchester College, and Chigwell School, Essex. And they will be visitors at schools from New Hampshire to North Carolina and as far west as Ohio.

For several years we had a summer program in Europe of American boys spending a considerable part of the summer at Ecole du Montcel, near Versailles. Some American teachers accompanied our boys, and some of the teachers at Montcel remained with a group of French boys invited from different Lycées. The Americans bore the entire expense of the program, but its

principal value was in the intimate association with the French boys and masters, a two-way advantage, I think. Last summer this program was changed for one of travel in England and Germany.

In 1933, because of financial conditions, there was no formal program, but the Kent School crew went to Henley and did some visiting in connection with its trip. A group also went from Tabor Academy, and a few boys from other schools joined them.

Were it possible to give further illustrations of definite units of work, presenting the content of class exercises and indicating methods of procedure, they would all reveal a lack of adequate elaboration and illustrative detail because the amount of time that is allotted such projects is delimited by the demands of the College Board Examinations. It is therefore encouraging to announce that it may soon be quite feasible for a number of the better secondary schools to give such increased time and attention to international relations. The Commission on the Relation of School and College is making it possible for about twenty secondary schools to be freed to a certain extent from the present requirements of the College Board Examinations. Curriculum experimentation in many of these schools will certainly include allotting a greater amount of time to outstanding international events, such as the Sino-Japanese conflict, the World Economic Conference, and the World Disarmament Conference.

SPECIAL RESEARCH CONCERNING SOCIAL STUDIES IN THE SCHOOLS

The objective and approach suggested by Mrs. Rugg's brief description of the character of progressive education indicate that attitudes developed in children are of primary importance; knowledge of facts is the medium in which these attitudes are developed. This emphasis on attitudes has been accepted as the criterion for judging accomplishment by a number of good studies which have been made since 1925 concerning problems of educating for world citizenship. In that year Mr. Hyman Meltzer studied the effects of one school curriculum on the social concepts of children.⁶ This was followed in 1927 by a study of the international attitudes of 1,000 high school students by Dr. Robert M. Frederick.⁷ Two years later *An Analysis of the Attitudes of American Educators and Others toward a Program of Education for World*

⁶ "Children's Social Concepts." "Contributions to Education," No. 192.

⁷ "An Investigation into some Social Attitudes of High School Graduates," in *School and Society*, 24: 410-412, April 2, 1927.

*Friendship and Understanding*⁸ was made by Dr. Henry L. Smith and Dr. Leo M. Chamberlain. Dr. Everett B. Sackett reviewed the international correspondence work of the Junior Red Cross.⁹

In addition, there have been constructed several good tests of attitude on international problems, which are of great use in measuring the results of given type of material. Professor L. L. Thurstone, for example, has prepared attitude-scales on war,¹⁰ Chinese, Germans, patriotism, immigration, free trade, German war guilt, preparedness, the League of Nations, and the Monroe Doctrine. In 1927, Dr. Goodwin B. Watson, in an investigation for the Institute of Pacific Relations, developed a test of opinions on certain international questions.¹¹ In 1931, G. B. Neumann, D. H. Kulp and Helen Davidson published a *Test of International Attitudes*,¹² and Adelaide Case and Paul M. Limbert of Teachers College, Columbia University, have reported results of a test of children's international attitudes disguised under the title *Around the World*.¹³

The Office of Education of the United States Department of the Interior has issued two bulletins, somewhat different in character, which have a bearing upon education for international relations. One, by Mr. John J. Tigert, is entitled, *A Practical Programme of Education for the Promotion of International Good-Will*;¹⁴ the content of the other is well indicated by its title: *A Study of Educational Value of Military Instruction in Universities and Colleges*.¹⁵

In still another category are the researches of the *Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools*. This Commission, under the American Historical Association, is not interested directly in education for world understanding, but rather in an improvement in the method and content of social science teaching generally. Obviously this cannot help

⁸ Indiana University, School of Education, "Bulletin," Vol. 5, No. 4, Bloomington, Ind.: Bureau of Cooperative Research, Indiana University, March, 1929.

⁹ *The Administration of the International School Correspondence of the Junior Red Cross*. New York: Columbia University, 1931.

¹⁰ *The Measurement of Social Attitudes*, edited by L. L. Thurstone: *Attitude toward War*, Scale No. 2, Form A, prepared by D. D. Droba, 1930, and Scale No. 34, Form A, prepared by Ruth C. Peterson, 1931. University of Chicago Press.

¹¹ *Orient and Occident—an Opinion Study*. Published privately.

¹² A manual of directions accompanies the text. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931.

¹³ Association Press, 1932, 347 Madison Avenue, New York. (20¢ a copy) An Article, "What Children Think about War," by Professor Paul M. Limbert in *Progressive Education*, X (February, 1933), 67-71, discusses this study.

¹⁴ Mimeographed, and no longer (1934) listed with the publications of the Office of Education.

¹⁵ By Bishop, Ralph Chesney, as "Pamphlet" No. 28, 1932.

but mean an advance in the growth of international understanding. In 1932 *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*, drafted by Charles A. Beard, appeared as Volume I of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.¹⁶ Ten other volumes have followed: Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences*; Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*; T. L. Kelley and A. C. Krey, *Progress in Learning in the Social Science Subjects as Indicated by Tests*; Isaiah Bowman, *Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences*; Charles E. Merriam, *Civic Education in the United States*; Charles A. Beard, *The Nature of the Social Sciences*; George S. Counts, *Education in an Industrial Age*; Jesse H. Newlon, *School Administration and Educational Leadership*; Merle E. Curti, *Social Ideas of American Educators*; and the *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*. Volumes which probably will appear, but are not yet in press, are R. M. Tryon, *The Social Studies as School Subjects*; Ernest Horn, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*; W. C. Bagley, *The Teacher of the Social Studies*; L. C. Marshall and Rachel Marshall Goetz, *A Social Process Approach to Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies*; Howard K. Beale, *Freedom of Teaching*; and R. Bruce Raup, *Education and Organized Interests in America*. These volumes should be helpful to the study and understanding of international relations in the schools, because designed for the improvement of the teaching of the social sciences.

TEXTBOOKS

The textbook is of extreme importance in the education of the youth of the United States. In many schools the process of education consists in the pupil's reading of his textbooks and studying them until he has their content fixed in his memory, and the function of the teacher is, in the recitation period, to check up on the pupil. No doubt, this is an extreme statement; but it does furnish some idea of the important place the textbook occupies in our schools. Indeed, patriotic societies consider the textbook to be so vital in the training of youth that they have prepared one in American history which they have attempted—not without some success—to have placed in the schools.

The material on the rôle of textbooks in the teaching of international relations that will be reviewed in this section is taken from Dr. Pierce's fine study,¹⁷ which deals with the content found in textbooks of history,

¹⁶ The Reports are published by Scribner's Sons.

¹⁷ Pierce, Bessie L., *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*. University of Chicago Press, 1930.

civics, sociology, economics, geography, modern languages, readers, and music books. Her study covered those books most frequently found in schools. The list was compiled from the state adoption lists and from lists of books prescribed, recommended, and approved by city systems. In all, 400 texts were examined; these included ninety-seven histories, sixty-seven books in civics, sociology, and economic problems, and forty-five geographies.

It was the purpose of the study to ascertain what reactions might be engendered toward peoples, policies, and customs of other lands, to discover what other peoples think of the United States, and to find out what attitudes might be developed in the American boy and girl reading these books. . . . In other words, from a study of textbooks frequently found in the schools, what opinions can American boys and girls of the present form concerning their own country and of other countries.

The conclusions drawn from the study appear in three pages at the end of the book. It is quite apparent that Dr. Pierce is very chary of drawing conclusions. For this reason we must listen with double respect to such generalizations as she makes.

What attitudes does the American child find in a majority of the history books which he studies? He learns that the United States has done more for world advancement than any other nation; that the Monroe Doctrine has been both beneficial and necessary, and that it has been a doctrine of peace and a preserver of democracy; that, in general, Washington's policy of isolation is desirable; that our policies with regard to other nations have been typified by altruism and by a desire to serve humanity; and that we, as a nation, have always been in the right. Dr. Pierce states that the textbooks are permeated with a spirit of nationalism and patriotism.

With regard to other nations the influence of the older type of history textbooks has often been misleading, tending to develop prejudices rather than to stimulate fair-minded understanding.

The attitudes engendered towards other peoples through the reading of these books must, in many cases, redound to their ignominy in contrast with the glory of America.¹⁸ A question may well be raised as to whether the memories of the pupil fired by the usual discussions of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 can be obliterated by abstractions relating to the democracy of England's present government, ascription to her of the parenthood of American institutions, and pro-

¹⁸ Pierce, Bessie L., *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks*, p. 254.

nouncements of her friendship to the United States.¹⁹ The Spaniard in histories is pictured as harsh and cruel.²⁰ Germany is charged with militarism, greed, rapacity, and cruelty.²¹ Regarding Mexico, the pupil will glean many facts pregnant with dislike.²² The attitude toward Canada is one of great friendship. A reading of the textbooks will present Russia in a way to excite, on the whole, friendly sentiments before the opening of the World War. On the other hand, discussions dealing with Russia for the period since 1917 will doubtless arouse the opposite sentiments.²³ The United States is described as generous in her relations with weaker peoples and as a benefactor of mankind.²⁴

The situation is much better with regard to the textbooks on civics, sociology, economics, and political problems.

On the whole, it may be said that authors treating the subject of our foreign policy agree that splendid isolation is no longer possible. Commerce between nations is made responsible for developing a permanent interest in Americans of other continents as well as promoting "international good feeling and friendship."²⁵

Of all the books examined, geographies are the least inclined to paint the American as superior to other peoples, readers and histories being the most guilty in this respect.²⁶

The problem of the content of textbooks received so much attention,^{26a} throughout the third decade of this century, from those interested in international relations that the Library of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, on March 4, 1931, published a bibliography entitled, *History Teaching and School Text-Books in Relation to International Understanding*. This "Reading List No. 29" contained titles of seventy-four books and pamphlets, and ninety-one magazine articles.

The situation in regard to textbooks, however, seems to have been definitely improving. Among the history texts are: Charles A. Beard and W. C. Bagley, *A First Book in American History*; Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *History of the United States*; A. B. Hart, *New American History* and *School History of the United States*; Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker Thomas Moon, *Modern History*;

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

^{26a} The Association for Peace Education in Chicago has studied the "War Emphasis in the Histories in Our Elementary Schools and Its Impress on the Mind of the Child." The National Council for the Prevention of War has inquired into the topic of "War and Peace in the United States Textbooks."

David Muzzey, *An American History*; and James Harvey Robinson, *Medieval and Modern Times*. Among the civics texts are: Arthur William Dunn, *Community Civics for City Schools*; Charles Abram Ellwood, *Social Problems: a Sociology*; Jeremiah Whipple Jenks and Rufus Daniel Smith, *We and Our Government*; William Bennett Munro, *Current Problems in Citizenship*; William Bennett Munro and Charles Eugene Ozanne, *Social Civics*; and the fine text in *International Civics* by Pittman B. Potter and Roscoe L. West. Among the geographies are: the books by J. Russell Smith, for example, *World Folks: a Wonderbook of the World and Its People*, and *Our Neighboring Continents*; *Asia: a Geography Reader* by Ellsworth Huntington; and an *Advanced Geography* by Frank M. McMurray and A. E. Parkins. The "Social Science Pamphlets" which were elaborated into the "Social Science Course" comprise six volumes, all by Harold Ordway Rugg: *The Introduction to American Civilization*, a study of economic life in the United States; *Changing Civilizations in the Modern World*, a textbook in world geography with historical backgrounds; *History of American Civilization: Economic and Social*; *A History of American Government and Culture: An Introduction to the Problems of American Culture*; *Changing Governments and Changing Cultures*; *The World's March toward Democracy*.

COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS

College entrance examinations are an important factor in shaping the programs of the high schools of the United States, because, in a substantial proportion of the high schools, the last year or two are devoted to preparing the pupils for taking these examinations. Both the prospective college students who intend to take these examinations and their classmates are affected by preparation for them.

Not only does the content of the college entrance examination affect that of the high school, but it reveals the present situation in regard to the subject matter in the high school courses. There is a large amount of interaction.

In addition, the entrance examinations give us a clue to the types of knowledge most valued by the colleges. It must be remembered that the purpose of the examination is to enable the colleges to select those pupils whom they consider the best. It is not possible to disentangle the factors at work in determining the character of the questions on the college entrance examinations. They may be said to represent those learnings which the high school student may be expected to achieve in

passing through the present high school courses of study, and which are most admired by the colleges of this country.

The following table presents the data from a count of the questions on the history examinations of the College Entrance Examination Boards for five recent years. The questions on the ancient history section of the examinations have been omitted, as not a single one was found to have any bearing upon any of the modern problems in the international world. A star has been placed before those categories which contain questions concerning international relations.

CLASSIFICATION OF QUESTIONS ON THE HISTORY EXAMINATIONS OF THE
COLLEGE ENTRANCE EXAMINATIONS BOARD FOR FIVE RECENT YEARS

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent of Total Number of Questions</i>
Changes in government, courts, law (civics)	83	19.9
Location of cities, battles, etc.	61	14.6
Religion, general philosophy	53	12.7
Economic development	49	11.8
Historical facts (not placed elsewhere)	41	9.8
* Imperialism (growth of empires)	35	8.4
Development of nations	25	6.2
* Causes and results of specific wars	23	5.5
* U. S. Foreign Policy	19	4.6
Political policies and organizations	17	4.1
* Questions having to do with the culture of other nations	16	3.8
* Diplomacy (and World Conferences)	13	3.1
Development of revolutionary ideas	10	2.4
* Relations between specific foreign countries	10	2.4
* Tariffs	7	1.7
Labor problems and legislation	7	1.7
* League of Nations	3	0.7
* World trade	3	0.7
* Division of territory	3	0.7
* Peace questions	2	0.5
* Polish corridor	1	0.2
* Hague Court	0	0.0
* Disarmament	0	0.0
* Interdependence of nations	0	0.0

THE INFLUENCE OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE
SCHOOLS

Practically every organization that has been interested in promoting international cooperation, or has had world peace as one of its aims, has at one time or another tried to influence the education of the children in the United States. It would be impossible to describe the activities of all of these organizations in the short space allotted to this

survey; in fact, such an attempt is no longer necessary since the publication in the spring of 1933 of Dr. Pierce's volume, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to giving a few illustrations of work which are more or less typical of that done by the private organizations in this field.

According to its own statement, "the direct objective of the EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION is to make known to children and youth as well as to adults the aims and organization of the League of Nations, and to train them to regard international cooperation as the normal method of conducting world affairs." The Committee has confined itself to the presentation of facts, endeavoring to make this presentation in an objective manner. It has abstained from introducing political controversy in the schools. It works in close cooperation with the Section on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations, with the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation established at Paris, and with the Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization.²⁷

For seven consecutive years the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association has held a competitive examination on the League of Nations. Each year high schools from the forty-eight states have registered for this contest. This examination is open to high school students, and the winner of the competition is given a trip to Europe including a stay of at least one week in Geneva with special opportunities arranged for seeing the work of the League. In 1933, 1,366 high schools were represented. More than 8,100 copies of the examination textbook, *A Brief History of the League of Nations*, were distributed, and 1,336 papers were actually submitted. While the number of schools registering in 1933 was slightly less than in previous years, the number of papers sent in, only two being allowed from any one school, was larger than ever before. The papers from year to year show an increased knowledge and understanding of international questions under consideration by the League of Nations. The prize winners have been able and intelligent young people who have made good use of this opportunity.

This Committee also sponsors "model league assemblies" which have

²⁷ Cf. p. 445 for discussion of the Intellectual Cooperation Organization. The Advisory Committee of experts was reorganized in 1933, from the former Sub-committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims and Organization of the League. This is an expert Sub-committee of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. For the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Paris, cf. pp. 447 f. For American relations of these organizations, cf. p. 37.

been held in many high schools and in some normal schools. The interest shown in these "model assemblies" has led to the development of "model" sessions of the League Council, the World Court and the International Labor Organization which are used in schools as well as in colleges.

The AMERICAN SCHOOL CITIZENSHIP LEAGUE has engaged in similar activities. The holding of a prize contest for essays dealing with international good will has been for a long time one of its activities. Since 1925 it has held similar contests in the normal schools and teachers colleges for essays on the best methods of promoting world friendship through education.

The NATIONAL STUDENT FORUM ON THE PARIS PACT has been active in encouraging high schools and their principals to incorporate an outline study of international relations, and particularly of the Pact in their school programs. In fact, in the last five years, the Forum has encouraged and helped the high schools of the country to make a serious study of the Pact. Its program has received cooperation from so many principals and teachers that during that period practically a million students from eight thousand high schools have participated in the study and enrolled with the Forum.

The National Student Forum is in charge of a committee composed of more than four hundred superintendents and high school principals of the country with many history and other social science teachers; it represents all the states in the Union. In each state there is a committee with a prominent school man as chairman, and practically all the major peace organizations cooperate in its work.

The Student Forum is ready to help any high school by providing the principal or the school library a free outfit of teaching materials sufficient for starting the work in connection with a history or other social science class. In this outfit is a copy of the textbook, "The Paris Pact," by Arthur Charles Watkins. There are also teaching outlines, syllabi, and bibliographies on international relations, which have been prepared by prominent teachers and successfully used for the last five years. The Forum also suggests, in addition to the basic study of the Pact, twenty-two other very interesting projects for the study of international relations that may be worked out in classes in all departments of the school. Correspondence with students in other countries, preparing itineraries and scrapbooks of imaginary foreign travel, and studies in stamp-collecting are some of their interesting suggestions.

The Forum also cooperates with the Civic Education Service, the

American Education Press, and Scholastic Corporation in supplying weekly information on international relations to the schools.

The PAN AMERICAN UNION²⁸ is active in promoting inter-American friendship through the schools. In connection with Pan America Day each year considerable material is prepared and distributed to elementary and secondary schools. In 1933, 1,740 elementary and secondary schools received this material, as well as about sixty Pan American, World Friendship, and Spanish clubs in high schools and colleges.

The NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE PREVENTION OF WAR has stated that it believes that in working with the children of the nation lies the best hope of securing peace. It is active in the distribution of posters and literature; indeed, during the months of January to March, 1927, it made a record distribution of more than half a million pieces of literature. The Council specializes in the publication of factual information—often in graphic form—concerning armaments, government expenditures, sources of raw materials for industry, and other data concerning economic interdependence. Its material is valuable both because of its reliability and because it is made available at nominal cost.

The JUNIOR RED CROSS has as its aim the increase of world friendship by fostering amity among the children of many nations. It publishes two magazines designed for classroom use. Its most important implement, however, is the system of international correspondence. Classes and schools in different countries exchange letters, bits of school work, and other items of interest to children. The Committee on World Friendship among Children of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America encourages a rather similar international exchange of good-will gifts.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES, in turn, endeavor to bring influences to bear upon the schools, which will offset those of the "peace societies." In general they emphasize the doctrine of American superiority, enthusiastically support military training and education advocating the necessity of military preparedness. These groups heartily dislike pacifism, often linking it with socialism and communism. Their concept of "pacifism" is that it seeks to reduce the armed forces of the United States. They are suspicious of international cooperation, fearing that it may lead to foreign entanglement. Their position can be fairly stated to be that they are in favor of peace, and against all reduction of the army and navy of the United States. In fact, they would claim that the

²⁸ Cf. pp. 56-58.

best road to peace is for the United States to maintain its fighting forces so that other nations will respect its rights. Their aim is to inculcate nationalism in the schools.

Included among the patriotic societies are such organizations as the American Defense Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and those associated with the Army and Navy. Their specific activities include the attempt to introduce military training into the high schools and colleges. They also interest themselves in the history textbooks used by school systems. They are especially interested in seeing that the military triumphs of the United States are sufficiently emphasized.

The AMERICAN LEGION affords an especially good example of the ambivalence of these patriotic societies. It has had prepared a textbook, *The Story of Our American People*, which bears on its front cover (Vol. I) the declaration that "Our Fathers cherished ideals—faced perils—won rights—and handed down to us the duty to defend those rights." Some local posts of the Legion were instrumental in securing the discharge of instructors for teaching "pacifism." They support the introduction of military training in the schools. Yet, at the same time, they have endeavored to increase the development of world friendship. They have urged the exchange of pupils and professors with other countries, and they support international sports because of their contribution to international understanding. The American Legion has advocated our joining the World Court and our cooperation with the League of Nations, and has endorsed the principles embodied in the Kellogg multilateral treaty to outlaw war, but it issued at the same time a warning as to a reduction of the military establishment.²⁹

THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN TEACHERS TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

The amount of instruction in foreign relations which is included in the training required in the preparation of teachers must inevitably influence the interpretation and the response of the stipulated content of the curriculum as contained in texts or restricted by college entrance requirements. The attitudes of the teachers must also be an important factor in the response of the pupils to whatever influence private organizations may endeavor to put forth. Two studies sponsored by the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association afford some

²⁹ Cf. Bessie Pierce, *Citizens Organizations and the Training of Youth*, pp. 33-51.

indication of the amount and character of the teaching of international relations in the teacher-training institutions of the United States.

In April, 1932, a questionnaire drawn up by the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations was distributed to various countries by the Secretary-General through that committee. Three hundred and twenty-two teachers colleges and normal schools were addressed. The seventy-one replies received represented twenty-nine states. Twenty-one institutions reported direct instruction in regard to the League of Nations; fifty-three included such instruction in other courses; nine had no course, but were planning one; and six had courses which they were extending (the categories are not mutually exclusive). In only five of the seventy-one institutions was the League one of the subjects in the final examination. Forty-six of the seventy-one institutions reported that the training of teachers was such as to encourage the idea that international cooperation is the normal method of conducting international affairs. In nineteen of the colleges the work of private associations is facilitated among the students out of school hours. Sixteen expressed the desire to receive additional information and material.

As to the methods used by those institutions which answered the questionnaire, the study found that thirty sought to awaken or stimulate interest among their students by devoting a few lessons to the study of international pedagogical movements and institutions, fifteen by promoting visits abroad, exchanges and attendance at international congresses, and ten by organizing prize competitions for the best essay on a League of Nations question.

In 1929 the National Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association⁸⁰ sent out questionnaires to the teacher-training institutions in the United States. The replies were tabulated by Dr. Walter C. Langsam of Columbia University, and reported by him in *School and Society*, August 17, 1929. Dr. Langsam found that of the forty-two institutions in twenty-eight states which answered his questionnaire, 65 percent stressed the international viewpoint and world friendship through the medium of history, 46 percent through geography, 42 percent through civics, 33 percent through industrial and fine arts, and 30 percent through English instruction; 71 percent of those replying reported definite mention of the League of Nations in their courses.

⁸⁰ Data concerning these studies were furnished by Miss Helen Clarkson Miller, Chairman of the Educational Committee of the League of Nations Association.

Seventy-four percent of the schools list *The New Republic*, *The Nation*, *Current History*, *Foreign Affairs*, and *Political Science Quarterly*; 28 percent subscribe to the "World Peace Foundation Pamphlets," 21 percent to the "International Conciliation" pamphlets published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 19 percent to the League of Nations publications, 14 percent to those of the League of Nations Association, 10 percent to the *Bulletins* of the National Council for the Prevention of War, and 5 percent to the *Foreign Policy Association Reports*. None of the institutions had a special faculty or student organization.

RESOLUTIONS OF TEACHERS ORGANIZATIONS BEARING UPON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The teachers in the United States organized as The National Education Association appear to have become more internationally minded than the training of their normal schools and teachers colleges might indicate. The platform of principles and ideals which it formulated in 1932 made the following statements:

The N.E.A. believes that improvement in communication, international business relations, and social intercourse have established many common international interests. In view of these actualities, education should prepare children and adults for cooperative living in a community of nations.

Provision should be made for the exchange of students, professors and educational publications. State school legislation should make such international exchanges possible and effective.

A modern program of education should include the study of the history, the interests and the problems of other nations. This study should include such instruments of world understanding as the organizations for international cooperation, the courts for arbitration, and the treaties of peace.

Local, state, and national associations of teachers should be linked internationally for the systematic exchange of professional knowledge, visits, and conferences.

Similarly, the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association adopted the following resolutions on February 25, 1932:

We endorse the resolution adopted by the N.E.A. in July, 1931, favoring the exchange of students and professors, the formation of international education associations, and the holding of international education conferences, for all of these promote world understanding, friendship, cooperation, and peace.

We commend the World Federation of Education Association's program for world understanding.

The Department of Superintendence once again goes on record as favoring the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice as a means of stabilizing world relationships.

The interest of these associations in the problems of international relations is further attested by the fact that at the 1932 meeting of the National Education Association there were ten addresses dealing either with phases of internationalism in education or with specific education problems in other countries.

The resolution concerning international relations passed by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at its 1933 meeting in Minneapolis commended the program of the American and British delegations to the Disarmament Conference on the subject of Moral Disarmament,⁸¹ and agreed with them "that the principles of pacific settlement of international disputes and of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be included in preparations for all governmental positions which may involve relations with other countries."⁸²

SUMMARY

Encouraging as these resolutions of the N.E.A. may sound, and striking and original as the courses of study, or special programs, for instruction for the building of international good will may be, on the whole the brief survey indicates that both in quantity and quality the teaching of international relations in the elementary, secondary, and normal schools of this country is far from satisfactory. A great proportion of the textbooks in common use hinder the development of international understanding. The teachers' organizations have thus far largely confined themselves to passing well-intentioned resolutions. The instruction in the teacher-training institutions is better than that in the elementary and high schools of the country; but that it is not nearly the optimum is all too evident.

On the other hand, it should be pointed out that the teaching staff of the United States seems to be definitely and increasingly interested in international questions; that much good research work has built the

⁸¹ The program of the American and British delegations to the Disarmament Conference on the subject of Moral Disarmament is summarized in Chapter XVIII, p. 451 of this survey.

⁸² Section 11, Report of the Resolutions Committee, in *Official Report*, Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association Convention, held at Minneapolis, Minnesota, February 2, 1933.

foundation for the effective teaching of international relations; that the textbook problem is being vigorously attacked; that several private associations have been doing good work in the schools; and that, of their own initiative, several important school systems have inaugurated excellent instruction in this field.

CHAPTER XV

AGENCIES FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

GENERAL CHARACTER

THE term "adult education" has been used in a variety of ways because it covers a field which has not been defined in the terms of systematic education as have courses in schools, colleges, and universities. In the United States, adult education is not thought of as applying only to those who have had insufficient education as children (although the provision of educational opportunities for such persons can be traced back to early colonial days); the term has come to include those educational opportunities which are taken advantage of by an increasing number of persons, young or old, whose main interest lies in a vocation, but who have conceived of education as a sustained and continuing process. This need has been generally recognized by the institutions of formal education—schools, colleges, and universities—that have in recent years added courses for adult education to their curricula which parallel the usual courses in primary, secondary, and collegiate education. These are given chiefly in the evening, part-time or continuation high schools, and divisions of university extension. The United States Office of Education reported that during the year 1932 there were 1,245,000 registrations for courses in the public evening schools, while correspondence courses of public instruction reached some 100,000 students annually, and those of commercially-managed courses from one million to two million students. There are also many special institutes, and schools which find no counterpart in the education of youth, such as the Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas; the Opportunity School of Denver, Colorado; the Ashland Folk School of Grant, Michigan; the People's Institute, and the New School for Social Research in New York; and the Lowell Institute of Boston.

In addition to these schools, especially designed for, and attended by, adults, educational programs for mature persons have been devised by other institutions as diverse as libraries, churches, museums, settle-

ments, business corporations, and by national organizations like the Y.M.C.A. and the American Association of University Women. Special provision has also been made for the education of special groups in the population, such as workers, prisoners, Negroes, and the foreign born; more recently interesting opportunities have been developed for the unemployed. A large subsection of the field is occupied by rural adult education. New forms and techniques, such as the radio, have been pressed into service.

The American Association for Adult Education, which has done much to coordinate work in these various fields, was founded in 1926 to further the idea of education as a continuing process throughout life. Its purpose is to gather and disseminate information concerning all forms of adult education in the United States, to make studies of special problems underlying adult education, to assist in demonstrations and experiments in new types of adult education, and to cooperate with efforts of communities and of other organizations in establishing agencies fitted to the interests and needs of adult students. It published the *Journal of Adult Education* (quarterly), special studies from time to time, and has recently issued a *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*. From its inception the Association has carefully refrained from originating subject-matter materials or in any way influencing the content of study courses. The international aspect of its work is chiefly evident in its affiliation with the World Association for Adult Education, in which it plays a most active rôle.

Informal adult education has naturally varied according to the changing interests of the communities in which it is carried on. The student of the history of American public opinion would find in the changing contours of this form of adult education a wide and suggestive field. Both in the nature of the organizations themselves and in their programs, there have been definite trends corresponding in part to the economic changes which affect both leisure to study and finances for the maintenance of the organizations. Thus in the period of depression, the popular movement has slowed down and many organizations, begun in more prosperous days, have ceased to exist. The general trend has been to lessen the lecture programs and to make more provision for consistent continuing courses of study.

In no other country have public lectures played a greater part in popular education. This has been especially true in connection with the churches, which, more than schools or colleges, have molded public opinion by their secular activities as community centers for discussion

as well as entertainment. Over fifty years ago a Methodist enterprise led to the foundation of an important lecture center at Chautauqua, N. Y., where summer conferences were held at which distinguished speakers addressed large audiences on the problems of the day. The success of Chautauqua led in following years to the creation of a number of traveling "Chautauquas" organized by lecture bureaus which visited hundreds of small towns, bringing with them a traveling faculty of lecturers, artists, and entertainers. The "Chautauqua" week was celebrated in most towns of any size from the Gulf to the Lakes, throughout the Middle West, and as no halls were large enough to contain the audiences, huge circus tents were used, and the isolation of country life was broken by an event which was remembered and talked about the year through. During the War and the early post-War years, the programs dealt largely with international questions. In the years of the depression and of the growth of the radio these popular "Chautauquas" have almost ceased to exist, but they played an important part in making possible the further development of other forms of adult education. The extent of the progress which has been made in popular education in recent years is evidenced by the change from these incidental contacts with the outside world to the systematic study of world problems arranged or stimulated by national or local but federated organizations. Most of the organizations mentioned below are engaged in the preparation of programs of study for local groups, as well as the distribution of literature bearing upon the problems of the day, and international relations have a large part in these programs. The annual meetings of these bodies, frequently attended by thousands of delegates, are centers for discussion to which foreign guests and speakers of national prominence are invited, and programs and platforms are laid down for the following year. In addition to the annual meetings of societies, the women's organizations have, under the leadership of Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, drawn together a National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War which presents coordinated programs to the various organizations. International Affairs have also taken a large part of the program of the Women's Conference on Current Problems, organized by Mrs. William Brown Meloney under the auspices of the New York *Herald Tribune*. This Conference has met annually for the last three years, with representatives from all over the country. Discussions begun at the conference are carried on afterward through the pages of the newspaper supporting it.

Formal lectures have ceased to satisfy the curiosity of audiences

which have been studying subjects more or less systematically, and forums of debate and discussion have tended to take the place of the lecture. At these forums current matters of international, as well as national, importance are taken up. The most successful example of the use of this technique in the field of international relations is in the public meetings of the Foreign Policy Association. Other organizations have made use of this method, as, for example, the Foreign Affairs Forum, which is a body working primarily in settlement houses in New York City. As many of these now use the radio to broadcast their programs, adult education is no longer limited to those who attend public gatherings. The effect of this upon radio programs and, likewise, the extent to which the radio has brought the public meetings and the speeches of foreign visitors to nation-wide audiences is indicated in the section on the radio at the end of this chapter.

Recent years have brought a change in the number and quality of the organizations, in informal adult education, which have made the study of international relations a part, or the whole, of their program. Many such organizations have taken so important a place in the community that they are now constantly called upon to suggest or supply speakers on international issues for occasions of all sorts. They provide books and pamphlets which, even when sold or given out only on request, are sometimes distributed in hundreds or thousands. Such organizations as the National Council for the Prevention of War, the League of Nations Association, and the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America are daily called on to meet numerous requests from teachers, club leaders, clergymen, and chairmen of groups of all sorts to suggest programs, topics of discussion, study outlines, and sources of information in the field of international relations.

Recent years have seen, too, a marked tendency toward the formal adoption of a policy of discussing international relations by associations existing primarily for quite other purposes. A considerable number of these associations, having membership in most or all of the states and a vast ramification of local organizations, have set up departments to promote interest in international relations or in peace. Among these are such inclusive organizations as the General Federation of Women's Clubs and some of the largest religious bodies in the country.

Furthermore, many organizations having no continuing interest in international affairs occasionally discuss international issues in their periodical publications or in forums, or invite speakers to present such

issues at their meetings. While such consideration is sporadic, it is widespread, influential, and rapidly increasing.

Finally, a considerable number of organizations with no generalized interest in international affairs are internationally affiliated with analogous groups in other countries or share specific common interests with similar movements abroad and so concern themselves with particular phases of international relations.

Many of the organizations which deliberately and continuously popularize interest in international relations, either as a primary or secondary activity, perform two-fold functions: they prepare information for distribution, and they use it as an instrument of education or persuasion.

A few of these institutions, such as the Foreign Policy Association, put out information which by its character and quantity entitles them to be counted as genuine research institutions. Most of them make no provision in their organization for continuous pursuit of research. But in feeding the interests of their particular membership, they sometimes perform work which, in method and results, more or less nearly approximates social research. In reporting activities of branches of their own or analogous organizations in various countries they may assemble, for example, information on the programs and membership of organizations of conscientious objectors and war resisters, or on the activities of women's peace groups or religious bodies, which is nowhere else collected and yet affords valuable knowledge of social movements and tendencies. When the National Council for the Prevention of War prepares simple charts of imports and exports of particular states to bring home the realities of economic interdependence it does more than give arresting presentation to familiar facts; it collects, arranges, and relates known facts in a way that gives them new connotations.

There is an increasing tendency to analyze issues, evaluate forces, and consider specific ways and means of ordering international relationships. Year by year, as objectives become clarified, as the demand for information becomes more sophisticated, and as better-trained persons are drawn into the service of the organizations which foster and feed popular interest, their own work and the discussion which they stimulate become more substantial. This tendency is reinforced by the increasing practice of discussing international affairs in direct relation to the preoccupations of groups organized for ulterior purposes. It demands some analysis of the nature of our complicated international involvements. While the analysis practiced in popular discussion and

even in expert presentations to popular audiences frequently is of an elementary sort, its focus is yet on specific issues and specific proposals.

Furthermore, improvement in the character of information disseminated and of presentation and discussion have been furthered by the institution of coordinating agencies which supply information, study outlines, programs, and suggestions for use by local groups throughout the country.

All the associations which continuously promote interest in international affairs in general, in taking up from year to year issues currently attracting public attention, are likely at any given time to occupy themselves with some of the same questions. They employ much the same expedients—most commonly the institution of conferences, forums, and study groups, the sending of speakers and organizers about the country, the circulation of periodicals, pamphlets, and news releases, the creation of special libraries and the publication of bibliographies, broadcasting and the showing of films. Consequently organizations of quite diverse types often parallel each other's work.

As the aspects of international relations which are considered, and the methods of presentation which are employed, are so often the same that various organizations perform similar services for different groups of people, the most informing classification of these organizations is one which classifies them according to the nature of their concern with international relations and the groups which they reach. Such a classification orients the interest taken in the United States in international affairs to other organized interests in the country. As implied in the foregoing paragraphs it reveals four types of organizations: (1) Those with a primary interest in international relations; (2) Those with a subordinate, but continuous and active, interest in international relations in general; (3) Those which, from time to time, turn their attention to international matters; and (4) Those with a specialized but continuous interest in some particular aspect of international relations.

Since the distribution of news through the press, broadcasting and film showing are usually effected through arrangements which the various types of organization already mentioned make with established commercial or public agencies, the use of these means of distributing information does not represent any special association of interest, but only a use of expedients. This use is described at the end of this chapter.

Among the organizations whose sole or primary interest is in international relations, are associations of the following types: those which attempt to supply a knowledge on which intelligent policy can be based

but do not themselves suggest policy; those which advocate some particular action and support their advocacy by dissemination of relevant information and discussion of issues involved; peace associations of various sorts; and organizations which attempt to foster mutual understanding between the people of the United States and those of certain other countries.

The organizations with a continuing secondary interest in general international relations fall most obviously into two groups, the secular and the religious. The former tend to treat international questions as problems in responsible citizenship; the latter, as problems in practical ethics. Some of the religious organizations comprise members of a single denomination, others are interdenominational or even inter-religious. Among both the secular and the religious organizations are some which make their own international relations programs and some which follow the suggestions of such coordinating agencies as the National Council on the Cause and Cure of War or the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches.

Among the organizations which occasionally turn their attention to international affairs are associations of all conceivable types with all conceivable bonds of interests: Service Clubs, the Granges, as well as certain aspects of the work of the American Legion;¹ business organizations, and business and professional clubs, trade unions, purely social organizations—in short, every sort of group which wants to keep up with the times.

The organizations concerning themselves with some particular aspect of international relations and involvements are likewise of many sorts. There are associations dealing with essentially international matters such as those interested in protection of migrants and population problems, or those like the Red Cross, which operate internationally. There are also organizations interested in the promotion of athletics or of folk arts which have taken the world for their province, and the Junior Red Cross and the Committee on World Friendship Among Children of the Federal Council of Churches encourage correspondence between the children and the school teachers of different countries. Then there are organizations the interests of whose members may be affected by foreign competition, business organizations seeking popular support

¹ The American Legion, besides carrying on a limited educational program in international relations, is the American Branch of the *Fédération interalliée des anciens combattants* (F.I.D.A.C.), founded in 1920, with an approximate membership of 9,000,000. It supports the World Court and disarmament, except for national defense.

for protective legislation, trade unions demanding strict enforcement of immigration regulations or exclusion of goods made by forced labor, or the American Association of Labor Legislation which has international affiliations.

Such an enumeration could be indefinitely prolonged, but somewhere a line would have to be drawn. Descriptions and listings, in this section, of various types of organizations popularizing interest in international relations are neither exhaustive nor fully authoritative; nor is the treatment of various of the organizations kept closely to scale in consideration of their relative importance. Only national bodies or institutions drawing more than local attendance are treated; many local organizations are affiliated with national groups, while others reproduce the forms of activity exemplified in national organizations.

Student-travel enterprises are described in Chapter XVI,² those of school children in Chapter XIV.³

It should be noted, however, that certain local bodies, which have very definite programs in the field of international relations, serve as experiments. The forums at Des Moines, Iowa, and at Dallas, Texas,⁴ are in this category. If these experiments are successful they will take their place as agents for adult education in international relations.

ORGANIZATIONS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ORGANIZATIONS WHICH TAKE NO STAND ON POLICY

The three best-known organizations whose work is directed entirely toward the study of international relations, but which supply information without advocating policy, are the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Foreign Policy Association and the World Peace Foundation.^{4a} The objective material supplied by them is not only of a research character, but also is used widely in the popular promotion of international understanding. Some other organizations have titles which suggest a similar purely informational service, and many publish

² See pp. 409-416.

³ See pp. 329-333.

⁴ *Journal of Adult Education*, June, 1933, pp. 277-279, 304-306, 343-345.

^{4a} The World Peace Foundation is now developing various new adult education services, including radio broadcasts, "electrical transcriptions," traveling libraries, fortnightly posters, a new series of "Popular Pamphlets on World Problems," etc. Full information regarding these new elements in its work may be obtained by writing to the New York office of the Foundation at 8 West 40th Street. The Foundation's Reference Service is already widely used in connection with adult education work. See also pp. 83-85.

factual statements, but few, if any, other associations dealing extensively with international relations have abstained from committing themselves on any question of policy.

The CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE, besides its many other activities,⁵ plays a large rôle in the field of popular education both by its own publications and by the stimulation which it has supplied to other international and local organizations. While the Endowment no longer publishes any periodicals,⁶ its "International Conciliation" pamphlets are widely used outside colleges and universities. By purchase or subsidy it has also, from time to time, made possible the publication of important books which might otherwise, for economic reasons, fail to find a publisher. Its activities in this regard, however, have in recent years been limited by lack of adequate funds.

By the lectures which it sponsors and the movements and institutions which it assists the Endowment contributes its share to the work of adult education, but because it limits itself to this field and does not interfere in politics, its influence on the formation of public opinion is indirect. In this it has been true to the ideals of its founder, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, who was convinced that nations would develop pacific policies and ultimately achieve a warless world when they were shown how the task could be accomplished. His rugged faith in democracy, which is evidenced by his endowment of public libraries the world over, lay at the basis of his organization of the Endowment for International Peace. The Endowment, therefore, has throughout its entire history concentrated upon the task of strengthening those elements in popular thinking which make for international understanding, and it leaves the results to informed public opinion.

While the funds of the Endowment are solely expended for the furtherance of those policies which it regards as valid within the scope of its own program, and while it is not a holding body for the financing of other institutions, it has, nevertheless, supported activities which it regards as sound wherever and by whatever means they can best be furthered. Thus it has assisted regional conferences in different parts of the country dealing with public questions that have an international bearing.

The Endowment has also aided in the establishment of traveling lectureships providing the opportunity for people in the remoter sections

⁵ Cf. pp. 26-30.

⁶ Except in Europe, where the *Esprit International* has made a place for itself as an authoritative journal of reference in the technical field of international law.

of the country to come in contact with leaders of public opinion or distinguished statesmen, authors, and men of affairs, American and foreign. While in most cases lectures have been connected with college enterprises, they have been open to the public and so have reached beyond academic circles to the community at large. The Endowment has further been instrumental in sending both to Europe and to Asia those who are in a position to inform public opinion in the United States directly and indirectly. College professors so sent have, on their return, been active in addressing meetings and writing articles that have created wide and lively interest in their several sections of the country.

It is impossible to list all of the activities of the Endowment in this field; but no survey of the elements making for popular education in international affairs would be complete without reference to the individual services rendered by the President of the Endowment, Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, in his addresses, publications, and personal influence upon the formation of public opinion.

The Institute of International Education, in particular, was established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1919, and maintained by five-year grants from the Carnegie Corporation. The purpose of this Institute has been to develop international good will by means of educational agencies, and specifically to act as a clearing house of information and advice for Americans concerning things educational in foreign countries and for foreigners concerning things educational in the United States. One of the activities of the Institute which has been much appreciated, is the Bureau of Foreign Lecturers through which it has been possible for colleges, museums, clubs, and forums to obtain foreign scholars, publicists, and men of affairs to explain the other civilizations and cultures to American audiences.

The FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, which is essentially a product of the profound changes in international relations wrought by the World War, in addition to the work of its Research Department⁷ carries on a variety of activities which have to do with the dissemination of information on international affairs. The constitution of the organization, which was adopted in 1925, puts these educational activities as the second of the two purposes of the organization—the first purpose being to carry on research.

The Foreign Policy Association has extended its influence through

⁷ Cf. pp. 81-83.

an active and growing membership which has increased from just over 900 in 1921 (when the Association was formed under its present name) to more than 10,000 at the end of 1933. Many of these members are affiliated with one or another of the seventeen branches of the Association, these branches being located in Albany, Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Columbus, Elmira, Hartford, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Providence, Springfield, St. Paul, Toledo, Utica, and Worcester. In each of these cities as well as in New York (where the headquarters of the Association are located) periodic meetings (usually luncheon meetings) are held, at which questions of vital international concern are discussed by leading authorities. In line with the Association's rule not itself to take a definite stand on any question of policy, an effort is made at these luncheon meetings to have presented different points of view on the subject under consideration, and an opportunity is given for questions from the floor after the more formal speeches. During the 1932-1933 season nearly 50,000 people attended the 117 meetings which were held under the Association's auspices. In addition, a much larger number listened in on the discussions at the New York meetings which were broadcast over a nation-wide radio hook-up. Generally the newspapers in the several cities where these Foreign Policy Association meetings are held also carry fairly full accounts of the discussions. Directly and indirectly, therefore, a large part of the educational work of the Association is carried on through these discussion meetings.

In addition to the *Foreign Policy Reports* (the publication of the research staff which is described on page 82) the Association issues a small weekly *Foreign Policy Bulletin* which succeeds admirably in its purpose to give week by week the particularly significant facts about timely international questions. These *Bulletins* go not only to the members of the Association, but also to a very large number of individuals who are in positions of public trust and responsibility, to libraries and to newspapers that subscribe for them. They are used as the basis for class discussions and study in many schools throughout the country. From 1928 through 1933 the Association published the weekly radio talks which Mr. James G. McDonald, then its chairman, gave over a nation-wide system during the autumn, winter, and spring. These talks were also sent out to radio listeners who were sufficiently interested to write for them and they were frequently reprinted in full in magazines and newspapers.

In the fall of 1930, the Association inaugurated in New York a series

of study groups which, in response to an insistent demand, have been continued and increased in number. These are designed to provide a more detailed consideration of some particular phase of foreign affairs than is possible at the brief luncheon meetings. The leaders of the study groups, in most, but not all, cases, have been members of the Association's Research Staff. Among the subjects taken up by the various groups have been Russia Plans a New Order, Barriers to World Recovery, Japan's Manchurian Adventure, the Struggle for the German Republic, and Problems in World Economic Planning. One group under the general subject "The World Adrift" held meetings during February and March, 1934, on the following topics: The World Today; The New Status in the Pacific; Latin America and the Caribbean; International Implications of the National Recovery Program; Fascism or Democracy in Europe; Germany under Hitler; The Soviet Union under the Second Five Year Plan; and The Future of Peace Machinery and Disarmament.

In the spring of 1934 in response to frequent inquiries from small groups eager to associate themselves actively with the Foreign Policy Association, it was decided to provide for Foreign Policy Association Affiliates. The relationship which the Association thereby offers is extended to every group, no matter how small, which is interested in international relations. Any such group may become an Affiliate of the Foreign Policy Association by the payment of an organization fee of \$10, for which the group will be supplied from National Headquarters with sets of Foreign Policy Association publications, including study outlines. The Speakers' Bureau is prepared to be of special service with suggestions of topics and speakers. The hope is to make these Affiliates centers of discussion on international problems in their several communities and to work out a technique which will be successful in arousing interest throughout the country in concrete international issues.

In the last few years the demand has steadily increased for exhibits of Foreign Policy Association material at national and international conferences and conventions and at special meetings connected with colleges and universities. These exhibits, of which there were fifty-six in 1933, serve to display the Association's factual information on international subjects in graphic form. The Association cooperates actively with other organizations working either partially or wholly in the field of international relations. Its president and various members of the staff, either as individuals or as officers of the Association, have worked with the Inter-Organization Council on Disarmament, the National

Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the National Board of the Y.W.C.A., and the Bureau of Social Hygiene. The effort of the Association's staff members in their cooperation with these other organizations is to serve "as a general staff for factual information in foreign affairs."

An organization in the Middle West, which carries on popular educational activities comparable to those of the Foreign Policy Association, is the INDIANA COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, with headquarters at Indianapolis. It promotes luncheon and dinner meetings, round table discussions and public lectures throughout the year, and holds an annual spring conference. It also maintains a speakers' bureau for the assistance of various local organizations interested in international affairs.

On the Pacific Coast the COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, with headquarters in Los Angeles, has been active since 1924. It was organized to "improve international race relations through education," and to advocate arbitration as the method of settling international disputes. Most of its activities are along the line of general adult education in foreign relations, with considerable emphasis on problems arising in the Pacific and Latin-American areas. The Council has a Research Committee, however, which meets every two months and is composed of representatives and social scientists from all the leading universities and colleges of the Pacific Coast region. In recent years the Research Committee has studied the *Report of the Commission of Enquiry* (Lytton Report) on Manchuria, war debts and reparations, and the gold standard. The Committee's reports to the Council are mimeographed and distributed to its 300 lay members.

The two organizations called FOREIGN AFFAIRS FORUM—one in the City of New York, the other in Brooklyn, New York—promote accurate, factual information on international subjects among the millions not reached by such organizations as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Council on International Relations, or the Foreign Policy Association. The New York Foreign Affairs Forum was started in 1929 for the purpose of giving the public accurate information in international affairs. Forum speakers are qualified to speak as authorities in their respective fields and are able to express their thoughts in simple terms with sympathetic understanding of the background of the audience. The meetings have been held in settlement houses, churches, and clubs.

ORGANIZATIONS ADVOCATING DEFINITE POLICIES

Various organizations interested in the study of international relations advocate definite programs and policies for the furtherance of world peace. Some of these are unitary organizations, while others represent groups of variously cooperating agencies.

An INTER-ORGANIZATION COUNCIL ON DISARMAMENT was set up during 1932 for the purpose of securing a common program among the organizations interested in international relations, but although certain policies were agreed upon, differences in point of view are so wide that no common program has been attained. The work of this Council was taken over in 1933 by a new Committee, the National Peace Conference, which has reached agreement on a seven-point program.

Several organizations, such as the League of Nations Association, the National World Court Committee, the American Foundation, and the American Committee for the Outlawry of War, exist primarily to secure adoption by the United States of certain specific policies, and their programs are therefore either directly or indirectly focused on this purpose. There are also organizations which concentrate on specific issues but tend to decide them on general principles; these organizations pay slight and only incidental attention to international affairs. Among such are associations demanding total immediate disarmament for the United States and the Committee on Militarism in Education, which seeks to bring about abolition of compulsory military drill in universities and colleges and of all military science in civil educational institutions.

The LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION is an unofficial body with nation-wide membership. It operates through a national office, state branches, and local committees and through a National Conference. It has some degree of organization in thirty-five states. There are thirty-two branches, nineteen of which are under the national office; the Midwest branch, with headquarters in Chicago, assumes responsibility for coordination of work in thirteen states of the Middle West.

Committees direct the work of the national office in education, publicity, political activity, and research, and a committee is responsible for keeping the branches in touch with the national office and with each other. Advisory committees on various subjects suggest policies for spreading knowledge of various activities of the League, and for

promoting United States cooperation with the League where possible.

The national office routes speakers, sends biweekly *Speakers' Notes* to 600 persons listed as speaking for the objects of the Association, sends out also a fortnightly five-page *Bulletin* of Geneva news to members of the Board of Directors, to executives of branches and chairmen of local groups, and to the 600 persons on the speakers' list and a few others and distributes a variety of pamphlet material.

The monthly magazine of the Association, the *Chronicle*, printing news of the League of Nations, the Labor Organization and the World Court, and of Association activities, is published in Chicago.

Local branches relay the work of the national office, carry out the programs of the committees, secure speakers for "ready-made" audiences of all sorts, get up special meetings and, in some cases, arrange monthly or weekly broadcasts. Six prints of a two-reel film, *Seeing the League of Nations*, are kept in circulation. Three of them are handled by the national office and together had in 1932 a total of 100 showings.

The Educational Committee of the Association cooperates with other organizations by preparing material for them at their request. For example, the Workers' Education Bureau and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War published material prepared by the Educational Committee especially for them.

Various pieces of program and study material have been prepared by the Educational Committee⁸ in the field of adult education, one of the most important and recent being a *Study Course* on the League of Nations, for which Dr. Mary E. Woolley wrote the foreword, and which is designed for groups wishing to do really thorough work in this field. An earlier series of pamphlets under the title "The United States and the League" included *International Health*, by Dr. Richard C. Cabot, *International Finance and Commerce*, by Dr. Herbert Feis, and *The Cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations*, by Professor Harry J. Carman. The purpose of this series, interrupted for financial reasons, was to show the effect of various League activities on specific interests of United States citizens, with a view to attracting the attention of functional groups.

The NATIONAL WORLD COURT COMMITTEE was organized to secure the membership of the United States in the World Court under the terms of the Root Protocol. It acts as a clearing house for fifty-five national organizations of such various types, for example, as the Carnegie En-

⁸ The work of the Educational Committee is discussed in connection with the public schools, pp. 330 f.

dowment for International Peace, the American Federation of Labor, the American Association of University Women, and the Federal Council of Churches. It has been active in encouraging local enterprises for placing speakers on the World Court, in sending out literature, and in suggesting means of bringing the wishes of the constituent groups to the attention of legislation.

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE OUTLAWRY OF WAR exists for the purpose of furthering the program of Outlawry of War. It was originated by Mr. Salmon C. Levinson of Chicago, and advocated by Senator Borah, Professor John Dewey, and the Reverend Charles Clayton Morrison, who, as editor of *The Christian Century*, has disseminated the ideas of the group widely throughout the Middle West and among those elsewhere who are interested in the peace movement.

THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS OF THE INTERPARLIAMENTARY UNION is the national branch of an international organization which plays a large part in the furtherance of international understanding. The purpose of the Union is "to unite in common action the members of all Parliaments . . . in order to secure the cooperation of the respective states in the firm establishment and the democratic development of the work of international peace and cooperation between nations." Its object since its formation in 1888 has been to study all questions of an international character suitable for settlement by parliamentary action. The Union, which has a membership of forty Parliaments throughout the world, holds an annual conference. At a recent meeting in Washington forty-one countries were represented. The organization has a secretary-general with headquarters in Geneva. It publishes the *Inter-parliamentary Bulletin* in three languages, with a circulation of about 2,000. It also publishes reports on special topics.

Most organizations which take a stand on policy in international relations do not limit themselves to a single demand, such as entrance into the World Court, but support various proposals for the furtherance of international cooperation. Organizations not limiting themselves to a single advocacy are of three types. The National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, for example, is responsible for a common international relations program pursued by its constituent organizations, which includes many of the national societies of women representing several million members, and commits itself to specific policies only after these policies have been separately considered by the membership and acted upon by them. The National Council for the Prevention of War, however, while likewise an agency serving a group of

organizations, does not propose a continuing program for the agencies which it serves; one-third of these agencies are either specifically peace groups or groups with pacifist religious affiliations. Different from both of these is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a unitary society, internationally affiliated, and a participating member of the National Council for the Prevention of War; it stands for pure pacifism and follows its principles to their logical conclusion in its recommendations on domestic, as well as on foreign, policy.

A number of the peace organizations do not appreciably foster discussion of international relations, as they take their stand upon so-called axioms as to the proper nature of human relationships and scarcely interest themselves in specific problems or positive means for ordering international dealings. Many of the members of such societies are also active in other groups, however, so that this statement is, with varying strictness, true only of the enterprises of the organizations themselves. Among such societies are: the War Resisters League, the Women's Peace Union, and the Women's Peace Society.

The NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE CAUSE AND CURE OF WAR is a Committee representing eleven organizations of women, no one of which is a peace society. These organizations are:

- American Association of University Women
- Council of Women for Home Missions
- Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America
- General Federation of Women's Clubs
- National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
- National Council of Jewish Women
- National League of Women Voters
- National Woman's Christian Temperance Union
- National Women's Conference of the American Ethical Union
- National Women's Trade Union League

The National Committee consists of the presidents of member organizations and the chairmen of their several committees on peace or on international relations, with its founder, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, as chairman. The object of the Committee is to clarify issues in international relations and discover and show steps which must be taken "to achieve a world at peace." It holds a conference in January of each year in Washington, D. C., to which each affiliated organization is entitled to send 100 voting delegates and 100 alternates. The conferences provide opportunity for discussion of organizational and other

problems by representatives of local groups, addresses and joint discussion by experts, and dramatizations; delegates wait upon Senators and acquire a sense of direct contact with legislative representatives of the people. Despite a diversified program designed to stir the imaginations of various types of delegates, the serious interest of each conference is focused on some particular issue or group of issues recommended for consideration during the ensuing year.

The study program of the National Committee is worked out carefully, and specific topics are suggested for consideration. The 1933 program, for example, proposed the discussion of: the relation of the United States with the League of Nations and the possibility of American entry into the League; world economic planning; war debt problems; sanctions for enforcing international obligations; recognition of Soviet Russia; the interdependence of the nations in the Western Hemisphere; the need for a reorganization of the State Department and the means that might be utilized toward this end; and the implications of the Pact of Paris. Continuing study of the Far Eastern situation was also recommended.

One device made use of is the "Marathon Round Table" by which each local group, after discussing a common subject, names one member to carry the group's conclusions to a State Round Table on the same question which, in turn, names a representative to share in a final discussion at a National Round Table held during the annual conference. In 1932 there were held 315 Unit Round Tables, and thirty State Round Tables, with a total of 3,150 participants; twenty-seven of the states sent representatives to take part in the final discussion.

Through agreement on subjects to study, on policies to endorse, and action to be taken, the scattered members of the constituent organizations are enabled to "concentrate upon the same objectives at the same time" both in education and action. An example of concentration of effort was furnished by the work of the Committee in connection with the discussion of the Briand-Kellogg Pact. The National Committee asked state and local units to cooperate in holding Education Conferences and suggested a resolution as a basis of discussion. Fifty-six one- or two-day conferences were held in thirty-nine states, and 12,533 resolutions asking for ratification of the Peace Pact were collected and presented to senators.

The Committee authorizes the organization of independent state, county, or city committees to be composed of the same associations as those in the National Committee and of any others approved by

unanimous vote of these members. The local Committees are free to undertake such work as they see fit among their membership but may not adopt resolutions "favoring or protesting against any policy concerning war or peace," or send messages to senators or newspapers or otherwise take public action in the name of the Committee unless the National Committee has endorsed the aim of such action.

The NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PREVENTION OF WAR, organized in 1921 and incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia, is both an organization and a clearing house for organizations. Thirty participating and cooperating organizations have united to constitute the Council on the basis of a threefold platform: "Progressive World Organization, Worldwide Reduction of Armaments by International Agreement and Worldwide Education for Peace."

Participating Organizations were:

- American Association of University Women
- American Federation of Teachers
- American Friends Service Committee
- American School Citizenship League
- Church of the Brethren, Board of Religious Education
- Committee on Militarism in Education
- Fellowship of Reconciliation
- General Alliance of Unitarian Women, Committee on Social Service
- General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends
- International New Thought Alliance
- National Board of Y.W.C.A.
- National Council of Jewish Juniors
- National Council of Jewish Women
- National Education Association
- National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
- National Reform Association
- National Women's Trade Union League
- Peace Association of Friends in America
- Society to Eliminate Economic Causes of War
- Woman's Missionary Union of Friends in America
- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

Cooperating Organizations were:

- Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Council of Women for Home Missions
- International Society of Christian Endeavor
- National Consumers' League
- Rabbinical Assembly of America

United Synagogue of America

Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America

Women's League of the United Synagogue of America

World Peace Union

The Council comprises representatives of these organizations—only the participating organizations having voting power—together with its officers and individual delegates-at-large. In its annual meetings it adopts findings which it recommends to the affiliated organizations and which it promotes through the staffs of its national and four regional offices covering the Northwest, Southwest, Mid-West, and New England. The executive secretary is Mr. Frederick J. Libby.

Its educational program is planned to develop in the minds of the general public, active realization of present world interdependence and the new national policies, political and economic as covered in the findings, which this interdependence makes necessary. It carries on its educational work through research studies, books, and pamphlets, of which it distributes over 2,000,000 copies annually; through the speeches of its staff members, who in 1932 made 3,400 speeches in forty-three of the forty-eight states to a half-million people; through the monthly *News Bulletin* with a circulation of 15,000; and through specially assigned staff members who devote their entire time to work with particular groups such as: farm organizations, young people, and high school students, while at the same time it cooperates through its general education department with business men's organizations, women's clubs, church organizations, and the grade schools.

In order that public opinion developed in these ways may result in legislative action, constant touch is maintained with Congress to insure knowledge on the part of the members of Congress of the peace sentiment of the country and to keep peace workers informed of the status of legislative measures affecting international relations. Similar contact with the international Disarmament Conferences has been maintained through an expert staff member, whose reports are made available to the public both through the ordinary channels and through a fortnightly clip sheet, which is sent free to the chief editorial writer of each of the 2,500 daily papers in the United States and to 2,000 other molders of public opinion.

The WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM is a pacifist organization acting through its own membership and effective through such national or local enterprises as they initiate. Miss Jane Addams is its International President. In the United States it has a total

paid-up membership of approximately 12,000, organized in 131 branches in fourteen states. The work of the League is focused on the promotion of peace policies and the creation of pacific public opinion, but to these ends it takes its own measures to inform itself on the nature of the international relations of the United States. It attempts to analyze international imbroglios as they arise. It takes a special interest in race relations and organizes interracial groups among its members. These groups are now interesting themselves particularly in the affairs of Abyssinia, China, Cuba, Japan, Liberia, Haiti, and Mexico. It is a participating organization in the National Council for the Prevention of War.

It stands for: the adherence of the United States to the World Court through the Root formula with compulsory jurisdiction of the Court; entrance into the League of Nations, exempt from any obligation to supply military force or to join in exerting military pressure; aggressive measures to advance total and universal disarmament by international agreement and outlawry of preparations for war; cancellation of war debts in conjunction with military reduction; immediate agreement on an international pact to consult in case of threatening conflict; repeal of Japanese exclusion and extension of the quota system without restrictions based on race.

The FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION is the American Branch of a purely pacifist association organized in twenty-three countries. It is a participating member of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Its members "repudiate war, exploitation, and racial discrimination, are committed to a way of life creative of fellowship and unity" and seek "to apply the principles taught by Jesus to all group relationships." It promotes conferences and gatherings for discussion on international problems and publishes an *Interracial News Letter* dealing especially with the relations between whites and Negroes, pamphlet literature, and occasional news releases.

WORLD PEACEWAYS is the youngest of the peace societies. Its technique is to use modern advertising methods. Within the year 1933-1934 it has had free full page poster advertisements for peace in *Fortune*, the *New Yorker*, *Liberty*, *Vogue*, *Vanity Fair*, and *Asia*.

The AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY is the oldest peace society in America. It was organized in 1828, and has recently reported a membership of 1,000, including educators, librarians, legislators, and individuals interested in peace. It holds periodical conventions and publishes the magazine *World Affairs*, which is the continuation of the earlier quar-

terly *The Advocate of Peace through Justice*. It has in recent years exercised a conservative influence upon the peace movement. Its history, however, is one of notable achievement. In the thirties of the last century it was offering prizes for the best essay on a Congress of Nations. In 1840, it published a large volume, *Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations*, which anticipated the essential principles embodied in the Hague Conferences and in our International Courts. The first society to espouse on the continent of Europe the cause of international peace was organized at the instigation of the American Peace Society. The "Universal Peace Congresses" were originated at the headquarters of the American Peace Society in 1841. In 1873, Dr. James D. Miles, Secretary of the Society, brought about the organization of the International Law Association.^{8a} Following 1835 the Society worked to influence state legislatures and the United States Congress in behalf of an International Congress and Court. It was the American Peace Society that originated the National Peace Congress in New York, 1907; in Chicago, 1909; in Baltimore, 1911; in St. Louis, 1913; and in San Francisco, 1915. The Society was responsible for the Fifth Universal Peace Congress held at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, in 1893; and for the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress held in Boston in 1904. In 1928 the Society celebrated its one hundredth anniversary with the World Conference on International Justice, in the City of Cleveland, Ohio, home of its President, Senator Theodore E. Burton.⁹ In

^{8a} Cf. pp. 190 f.

⁹ The COMMISSION ON THE COORDINATION OF EFFORTS FOR PEACE was created in 1928 at the suggestion of Senator Theodore E. Burton, in connection with the Centennial Convention of the American Peace Society. President Ernest H. Wilkins, of Oberlin College, is chairman of the Commission. The Commission is not a propagandist organization; it functions as an independent body in the selection of its own members, in its procedure, and in its financing. "It is concerned, in the first instance, with the study of the existing peace agencies; it hopes ultimately to make recommendations looking toward the better coordination of the efforts of those agencies." Its first report, dated September 1, 1933, is a classified list and general description of the peace organizations of the country, local, national, and international. These lists include organizations not instituted primarily for the promotion of peace but engaged in the promotion of peace through a special committee or section, or by having the promotion of peace as one of several stated objectives. In the third place, organizations created for purposes more or less closely related to the promotion of peace are included. All the organizations included are listed and classified in various tables in Part I; details of the character and activities of the organizations are of necessity omitted. Part II, however, in a general summary, analyses the objectives, motives, attitudes and activities of the organizations which have been listed and classified in Part I. Three hundred and ten organizations have been included in this 1933 *Report of the Commission on the Coordination of Efforts for Peace*. Single copies are obtainable from the Commission, Administration Building, Oberlin, Ohio, Price 25¢.

1932 the Society held its American Congress on International Justice, in the city of Washington. The Society's Permanent Commissions for studies and reports are as follows: Commission on International Justice, Business and Finance; Commission on Education and International Justice; Commission on International Justice and the Social Worker. In the language of Dr. James Brown Scott, "The story of modern arbitration cannot be told without constant reference to the history of the American Peace Society."

ORGANIZATIONS SECONDARILY INTERESTED IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The number and variety of associations which have made, in their constitutions or in formal resolutions, statements of concern for the character of our international relations is greater than is likely to be surmised by anyone who has not made a canvass of such statements. In many cases these have not been followed by any active measures. They, however, give evidence of the degree to which the people of the country are interesting themselves in such matters and, practically, they provide sanction for such discussion of international affairs as individuals or groups may wish to promote within the organization.

The associations referred to below are among those which pursue, more or less actively, some systematic policy for informing their members about the nature of the international involvements of the United States and for promoting discussion of the desirable ordering of international dealings. Some such organizations as, for example, the peace bodies of the religious denominations are cited only collectively although they are in varying degrees active. Some, which have testified to an interest by associating themselves with such organizations as the National Peace Conference or the National Council for the Prevention of War are not mentioned, either because of their very small membership or because they pursue no systematic policy in informing their members, or because only very incomplete information has been obtainable.

The organizations secondarily interested in international relations fall into two principal groups: the secular and the religious. The non-religious or secular associations act on the presumption that a knowledge of international affairs is an important responsibility of citizenship and their activities are directed toward securing and disseminating information on this basis. Certain of these organizations—particularly the peace societies and to a lesser degree the leading women's clubs—

focus their interest on specific issues actually or potentially facing the Government, and so, indirectly, the electorate. The men's organizations—especially the Service Clubs (Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions) usually are less specific in their interest. These Service Clubs, however, differ from the women's organizations and the peace societies in that they avowedly are organized on an international, rather than an American national, basis. Furthermore, it should be remembered that many men are interested in international problems through their business and financial connections.¹⁰

The religious organizations will be discussed in more detail in a later part of this section.¹¹ In this connection it is worth noting, however, that their approach to the study of international questions is primarily ethical; they interest themselves in the quality of human relationships and focus their attention directly on the maintenance of peace and the promotion of good will. Many of them also distribute information bearing on and discuss specific issues in international relations, though their approach to this discussion is in the main from the point of view of the "brotherhood of man" rather than from that of the desirability of economic or political international cooperation.

SECULAR ORGANIZATIONS

While the membership in the majority of secular organizations is limited either to men or to women, a few bodies of unrestricted membership come under this general category. For example, the growing movement, in men's, women's and coeducational colleges and universities, of holding alumni conferences, varying from two days to two weeks in length, has tended more and more to direct the programs toward some phase of international relations. In the period between 1931 and 1933, eight different colleges reported¹² some topic in the field of international relations as the subject of study. These colleges follow up their programs with reading lists; thus a continuous interest is aroused in the subjects outlined. In fact, reading lists, often of scholarly value, distributed widely to subscribing members by the alumni associations of almost all American colleges and universities, ordinarily include sections on international affairs.

The LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY¹³ is an example of still an-

¹⁰ Cf. Chapter IV, *seriatim*; for Service Clubs, cf. pp. 365-367.

¹¹ Cf. pp. 367 ff.

¹² See the *Handbook of Adult Education* for discussion of alumni colleges.

¹³ Cf. p. 400 for discussion of the student work of the League for Industrial Democracy.

other type of secular organization, which, although primarily engaged in "education for a new social order based on production for use and not for profit," places international questions to the fore in its literature, which is widely distributed, and in its lecture and national conference programs. Mention should also be made of the Communist League, the Young Democratic Clubs, and other similar political associations, which often discuss international problems. But since international relations are only an incidental part of their programs, detailed discussion of them is outside the purview of this survey.

The women's secular organizations are a large part of the numerous associations secondarily interested in international relations. There are some nine of these which can be properly called national in scope. Practically all of them arrange programs for meetings and for study groups; and more of them provide definitely for the inclusion of topics on current international affairs. These women's organizations, for example, joined, in 1932 and 1933, in requesting the Institute of Pacific Relations to prepare two pamphlets on the conflict between the Chinese and the Japanese which could be used in their discussion meetings.

The four principal women's organizations, whose interest in international questions is secondary rather than primary, have their programs of study of international questions well organized. The other women's societies which belong in this general group follow much the same lines as these four leading organizations, although on a somewhat smaller scale.

The AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN has approximately 38,000 members in 624 branches scattered in every state in the union and has forty organized state divisions. The Association has an active International Relations Committee which underwrites a program promoted by an executive secretary through a permanent International Relations Office. Fifty-one branches of the Association recently have collaborated in a survey of news of international relations appearing in the American press and over 300 study groups were active in local branches in 1932-1933.

The present program of the Association emphasizes: study of world problems; development of the international mind through the use of educational methods in local communities; extension of hospitality to foreign visitors and students; relationship to the International Federation of University Women.

The International Relations Office of this Association issues a hand-

book for the use of international relations chairmen, and also study guides covering some dozen subjects of varying scope. The local groups cooperate with social science departments and international relations clubs in schools and colleges, sponsor public lectures, put on exhibits, promote exchanges of teachers, and in other ways encourage interest in international relations, particularly among students and alumnæ. The Association often can draw upon well-trained people as group leaders and the aid of its members is sometimes sought by other women's organizations in the formulation and promotion of their international relations programs.

At present the Association is embarking upon a study of cultural factors influencing international situations. Study courses are being prepared on Cultural Relations in the Pacific area and in Latin America, the first with the able cooperation of Mr. Bruno Lasker of the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations; the second is being prepared by Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett of the Inter-American Federation of Education.

The GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS is an international body made up of local clubs in the United States organized into districts and then into state bodies which are in turn federated in the parent organization, together with seventy-five clubs located in all parts of the world. Originally organized mainly for social purposes, the clubs have, nevertheless, followed programs for special activities. Departments concerned with these several activities function in the national, state, and district organizations, local clubs organizing groups in such departments as claim their interest. Every state in the Union has its Federation; the total membership for the country is not accurately known, but the more moderate estimates place it at about two million. Fourteen thousand five hundred local clubs are reported active in 1934.

The Department of International Relations is officered by a national chairman, forty-eight state chairmen, district chairmen under the state chairmen and local chairmen for those clubs which have organized International Relationship Committees. The national chairman outlines a general program for the department, recommends books, and provides detailed study outlines and pamphlet materials, which are sold to the members at cost. The present program of the department provides for (1) a seven weeks' introductory study of Building the World Society; (2) subsequent courses on the League of Nations, Conflict around Manchuria, and Europe Today; (3) an essay contest open to all who have completed the first course. In 1932 the subject of the contest was

"How We May Help to Build the World Society," and the prize was a trip to Europe. For 1933 the subject is "What Has the League Accomplished and How Have Americans Helped?" and there are two prizes of \$50 and \$25, respectively. Each member of the introductory study group who completes the required reading (one book), and is reasonably faithful in attending the meetings, is presented with a scroll made out in her name by the national chairman. Four hundred persons qualified for the scroll in 1932, and a large proportion of these were active in promoting the work of the Department of International Relations. Much larger numbers joined the study groups for 1933 and 1934. The General Federation is a member of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War.

The NATIONAL FEDERATION OF BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS, which has a total membership of 52,101 in 1,359 local clubs and forty-six state organizations, carries out a national program in international relations. The plan of work for the year is determined by the National International Relations Committee. This Committee functions through the state chairmen to the local clubs. The month of February in the Federation Calendar is known as International Month and the Clubs devote at least one of their meetings during that time to an international relations program. The *Independent Woman*, the official magazine of the National Federation, carries a page for international-relation activities in the December issue each year. The National Federation sponsors International Study Groups to foreign countries and in 1934 the group will go to Mexico.

The National Federation is a constituent member of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the International Federation of Business and Professional Women, the Mainland Division of the Pan Pacific Women's Conference and the National Peace Conference.

The NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS operates through eight departments representing special interests of women as voters. One of these is the Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War, and the League is represented on the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. The National League of Women Voters is made up of forty-two state Leagues and a League in the District of Columbia. Twenty-three of these state Leagues are organizations maintaining permanent office headquarters, and all but two of these have some regular office staff. There are 525 local Leagues. The organization is in no sense a women's political party, but like some other organizations with

civic interests, adopts a general platform. The platform for 1932-1933 proposes three main objectives for public policy: constructive economy in government, prevention and relief of unemployment and international cooperation. To the latter end it recommends adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice and the codification of international law, entry of the United States into the League of Nations, participation of the United States in conferences for international reduction of armaments and in economic and humanitarian conferences designed to promote international harmony, support of treaties to achieve such harmony, cooperation with the League on all matters touching the Pact of Paris and the settlement of international difficulties by arbitration or other peaceful means, together with consultative pacts and economic agreements in the interest of peace.

The "SERVICE" CLUBS, in some respects, are the masculine counterpart of the women's secular organizations.

The Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions Clubs have come to play an important part not only in promoting friendship between men in different business and professional occupations in each city in the United States, but also in developing the "international mind" among its members. All the clubs mentioned are organized internationally. Of the three, the Rotary is both the oldest and the largest; and the Rotary International has branches in more countries than either of the others and is more active in its international associations. For these reasons the Rotary International will be the one here described.

ROTARY INTERNATIONAL developed out of a small Rotary Club which was formed in Chicago in 1905. An American National Association was formed in 1910 and two years later a start was made towards giving the body an international character by the admission of Rotary Clubs in Winnipeg and London. In 1922 the name "Rotary International" was adopted and the constitution was revised to put the Rotary Clubs outside the United States on precisely the same basis of rights and participation in the organization as those located in this country. At that time also a statement of objects was adopted which gave as a sixth and final purpose: "The advancement of understanding, good-will, and international peace through a world fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of Service." At the beginning of June, 1933, there were 3,593 Rotary Clubs with just over 147,000 members. Of these approximately 1,200 clubs and 41,000 members were outside the United States—the Clubs being located in

eighty-two different countries, dominions or colonies in all parts of the world.

The statement that one of the purposes of Rotary International is the advancement of international understanding is considerably more than an empty gesture. One of the principal committees of the international organization is the International Service Committee. This committee is constantly active in calling the attention of the Program Committee and other committees of the individual Clubs to the desirability of doing specific things which will help the members to think internationally. The International Service Committee in an official pamphlet states that "The first duty of a rotary club is to lead the members to the recognition of their personal responsibility in international relations. The recognition of such responsibility is one of the civic virtues and its practice should start in the immediate surroundings."

Toward the carrying out of this duty the International Service Committee advises every Club: to arrange for some contacts outside its own country every year, to exchange visits with rotary clubs in neighboring countries, to cultivate association with nationals of other countries resident within the local community, to insert in local Club reports and other publications references to activities of Rotarians and others throughout the world, to encourage Club and personal correspondence with other Clubs and their members, to attend social, industrial, and international conferences where broad human relationships are discussed and friendship is promoted, to study the social, political, and industrial conditions in other countries, to stage pageants and plays dealing with other countries, and to secure speakers on foreign subjects for their meetings.

An analysis of the programs actually presented at the weekly meetings of the Rotary Clubs in the United States and of the other activities of these Clubs shows that to a considerable extent these promptings from the International Service Committee bear fruit in action.

Rotary International also arranges regularly to have at least one out of three or four of its annual Conventions outside the United States. One of these Conventions met in Ostend in 1927 with 3,700 Rotarians from the United States in attendance. Another which met in Vienna in 1931 was attended by nearly 4,300 Americans.

The Rotary magazine, *The Rotarian*, carries regularly articles bearing on international questions and each issue has a special section running

to from five to six pages devoted to notes about the Rotary Club activities all over the world.

Through their organization, Rotarians, it is true, do not get information about foreign lands or international relations which is calculated to make them experts in this field. Nevertheless, it is significant to note that the interest in international questions, as it is evidenced in the programs and other activities of the local Rotary Clubs in the United States, has been steadily increasing. The members of the Rotary Clubs in this country constitute a fair cross-section of the middle class, since among these members are representatives of each of the principal lines of activity in the local communities where the clubs exist.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

All of the leading religious communities in the United States—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—have developed special organizations of various kinds for the promotion of interest in international relations or of conditions in foreign countries. Some of these organizations are concerned with creating such interest in no small part because of their need for raising funds to maintain missionary, educational, and similar work abroad. Quite apart from this need for raising funds, however, the religious organizations have concerned themselves with problems of international relations as part of their general activity in benefiting mankind. The Protestant bodies particularly have set up an elaborate system of committees, departments, and bureaus for spreading among the church membership an understanding of international problems and for urging action along particular lines in dealing with international questions. The Catholic organization in the United States, being itself free from numerous denominational divisions, is able to carry on with less complex machinery than that of the Protestants its effort to promote peace and international understanding. The Jewish community expresses its interest in international affairs not only through two principal central organizations, differing somewhat in form and purpose, but also through a large number of bodies representative of special groups within the community.

Certain of the more important bodies which are primarily religious in their associations include within their membership representatives of the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish organizations. The adherents of all three of these religious faiths also join actively in the work of most of the peace societies. It is safe to say that the differences of faith between the Protestants, the Catholics, and the Jews in the United States

do not to any great extent interfere with their cooperation in efforts to promote peace and international understanding. Separate organizations to promote these ends have been set up within each of the faiths, more for the convenience of administration and intimacy of contact with the members of the churches than from any unwillingness of the leaders to cooperate.

The national organization most inclusive by definition is the board of THE CHURCH PEACE UNION, on which Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish bodies are represented. The Union itself, founded by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, is an endowed foundation to organize religious leaders of the world for conference, and to mobilize the good-will of the people for peace. At present its program demands "disarmament, adjustment of inter-governmental debts and other economic relationships, and perfecting the world organization for peace by supplementing the machinery" and stands for "entrance into the League of Nations, or some effective world organization," the outlawry of war, and the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice. It holds that "the principles taught by every great religion are the principles taught by every good modern economist and political and industrial authority." The Church Peace Union has cooperated with various American peace organizations, and has been of assistance to the American Friends Service Committee in their Institutes of International Relations held at Duke University, Northwestern University, Haverford College, Swarthmore College, and Wellesley College.

Its educational work is largely accomplished through the American Council of THE WORLD ALLIANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP THROUGH THE CHURCHES which "welcomes to its membership men and women of all religious faiths and political affiliations." The Union and the Alliance have established 875 cooperating centers covering every state in the country and a total of sixteen centers in Canada, Hawaii, and the Philippines. These centers put into effect locally the programs of the Alliance, arranging meetings, appealing to political representatives, and publishing statements in the local press. This American Branch of the World Alliance administers a large part of its work through committees on Reduction of Armaments, Religious Rights and Minorities, Relations with Canada, Relations with Mexico, and Relations in the Pacific Area. The Council has taken an active part in international conferences and exchange of children for holidays; it has exchanged speakers with nine European countries and sent a total of more than eighty American preachers and university men to Europe,

and it arranges yearly several hundred exchanges of pulpits between preachers of Canada and the United States; its general secretary has for twelve years served as the executive officer of the international Universal Christian Council for Life and Work which brings together Protestant denominations and the Greek Orthodox Churches.

The Executive Committee of the World Alliance were guests of the Eastern Orthodox Church in Sofia on September 15-25, 1933. It is planned to hold the 1934 meetings in Budapest in cooperation with the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work.

The World Alliance also has a committee in Japan which includes Buddhists.

PROTESTANT ORGANIZATIONS may be classified as either interdenominational or denominational. The former have been established to co-ordinate the work of Protestant groups and to pool their resources for information, news and promotion.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA co-operates with all types of religious organizations, but includes in its membership only Protestant evangelical churches. It is an interorganization council in the United States for twenty-six such religious bodies. Its central organs are a Council of 280 members, elected by the denominational assemblies of its constituent bodies, and an Executive Committee. The constituent groups have among them 135,000 congregations with a communicant membership of more than 22,000,000. Some of these are locally organized, in informal relations with the Federal Council, in fifty City Councils with permanent executives, and there are a large number of local bodies under voluntary leadership in smaller communities, while in twelve states there are State Councils.

The Federal Council functions through departments, one of which is the Department of International Justice and Goodwill. Each department is made up of representatives directly chosen by the constituent denominations and has its own officers and staff. No department, however, can issue any sort of official statement or inaugurate any program without sanction of the general executive committee. About one-fifth of the financial support of the organization comes from the general treasuries of the constituent bodies and the rest from voluntary contributions, a part of which are collected independently by the several departments for their own use. The budget of the Department of International Justice and Goodwill in 1932 was \$35,000; for 1934 it is \$24,000. This department coordinates the work of the International

Relations Committees or other groups interesting themselves in international questions in the twenty-six religious bodies with membership in the Council. It publishes a variety of pamphlets for their use, and promotes study courses on international relations. A periodical, *Information Service*, issued weekly by the Council, carries news of international affairs as well as of domestic developments.

The Department of World Friendship among Young People is a department of the Federal Council cognate with that of International Justice and Goodwill. It is now promoting a scheme whereby young people under twenty-one after informing themselves with respect to certain issues on which information is provided them by the department, shall interview their older neighbors, fill out a questionnaire, write up the interview, and forward their findings to the department. Everyone who sends an adequate report of an interview to the office of the department will receive a handsomely printed certificate decorated with facsimiles of the signatures of the President of the United States, the Secretary General of the League of Nations and many other notables.

Two semi-independent organizations operate under the ægis of the department: the National Committee on the Church and World Peace, and the Committee on World Friendship among Children. The first of these brings together, from time to time, in study conferences leaders of denominations included in the Federal Council, leaders of denominations which are not included in the Council, and leaders of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations and similar groups. The conferences have avoided official status; the leaders who come together meet to discuss as individuals and not as responsible spokesmen for their respective groups. The Committee on World Friendship among Children does not directly promote any sort of study of international relations but fosters exchange of gifts and correspondence between children of various countries.

Such organizations for young people as the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the World Sunday School Association, and the Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church place quite prominently in their programs of activity the spread of information about foreign countries. The purpose in doing this is to create an attitude of world friendliness among the young people—and in these cases the motive of seeking to raise funds for carrying on missionary work in other countries does not enter.

Both the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION and the YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION are active in the development of an

interest in and understanding of foreign questions among their members. The American branches of these organizations work in close cooperation with the branches of the corresponding national and international bodies in other countries. The American Associations also support a considerable number of workers and different kinds of activities outside of the United States. Because of the need for securing financial support for this foreign work, both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have a special motive for developing interest of their members in other lands. This is by no means, however, the only reason why they try to stimulate such interest; as international organizations concerned with improving human conditions, they have a direct interest in the promotion of international understanding. The American Associations have participated energetically in all the international and interracial conferences, camps, and study courses sponsored by the World Committees of the two organizations, which are located at Geneva and London.

During the last few years a good deal of discussion developed about the value of the foreign work being done by the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. Many criticized this work on the ground that the methods were wrong, that the personnel was not what it should be, and that the whole effort was unwise. As a result of these criticisms a proposal was made for an independent survey of the foreign work of the two organizations. This was initiated in 1928, it being financed by one of the large Foundations.¹⁴ As a result of this survey, a volume was published in 1932 which deals with the whole question of the foreign work of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association.¹⁵ The volume makes a number of critical comments on the work and proposes certain changes. It has aroused a good deal of discussion among those interested in the work of the two Associations and has given considerable stimulus to the movement to put the whole of this foreign work on a basis of social usefulness rather than of evangelization. This shift of emphasis is attracting to the Associations people who previously were not interested in their activities. It thus is opening up a new and in some ways more influential clientele for the work of the Associations in educating Americans on foreign subjects.

The YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION has a membership in the

¹⁴ A similar survey of the work of Protestant foreign missions is discussed on p. 382.

¹⁵ *International Survey of the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association*. The International Survey Committee, New York, 1932.

United States of approximately 857,000, of which 600,000 are young men and adults, and 257,000 are boys. There are in addition 415,000 non-member participants. The foreign work of the Y.M.C.A. is carried on under the Foreign Division of the Association, which has an American-supported personnel of fifty-eight Y.M.C.A. secretaries in the various foreign countries. This division is also active in trying to build up interest in foreign affairs among the members of the Association. Toward that end it arranges for talks at the local Associations and also at service clubs and churches by men who have been working in the foreign field; and for the distribution to local Associations and to individuals of numerous reports of Y.M.C.A. activities abroad. One device which has been found successful is that of getting some local Association to adopt a particular Y.M.C.A. man or project in some foreign country. Through correspondence, personal visits and other means, every effort is made to stimulate interest in the particular piece of work or the activities of the individual who has been adopted. A fairly large proportion of the local Associations in the United States have such special contacts with the foreign work of the Y.M.C.A. in particular regions, and these contacts are among the most effective means by which the Y.M.C.A. increases the understanding among its members of conditions abroad. Mention should also be made of their carefully promoted world tours, the world character of the movement itself (with headquarters at Geneva), programs of international music festivals in cities like Chicago, and other such means of building international understanding and appreciation.

Under the Home Division of the National Council arrangements are made for study groups in the local Associations and somewhat elaborate programs are drawn up as suggestions to the leaders of these forums. These studies are used by about 100 of the local Associations. They provide for considerable attention to questions of international relations and foreign affairs under such headings as: Citizens of the World, What Christianity Means to the Modern World, or American Relations to World Problems. Under the Boys' Division, many discussion groups and forums are organized which take up as part of their interest European, Latin-American, and Far Eastern questions. The Student Division promotes many study groups on international questions in the various colleges and universities, and at summer conferences.

The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students not only helps foreign students in the United States to find their bearings but it makes a special effort to introduce foreign students to American

homes, churches, and clubs. The natural result of these activities is a considerable amount of informal discussion of international questions on the campuses and in the churches and clubs, although no regular series of studies is arranged by this Committee. At most of the local organizations several speakers on foreign subjects are secured each year for the forum meetings which are open to the public. As a result of these speeches not infrequently informal study groups develop.

The YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION of the United States of America has about 600,000 members, of whom 30,000 are students. It is one of the more active American organizations in fostering an interest in international relations. The American Young Women's Christian Association is affiliated with the world organization, which embraces the movements in different countries. The Young Women's Christian Association of the United States maintains secretaries and contributes funds to aid the autonomous national organizations in nine countries.

The Y.W.C.A. makes a special effort to report to its American members the activities of the various foreign Associations. These reports are published in the Association's monthly periodical, *The Womans Press*, and in pamphlets. Concepts of international citizenship and international justice and specific questions of international relationship are treated in a study outline to be used by the branches in connection with books—prepared in the international headquarters of the Association at Geneva—which emphasize the international aspects of the enterprises of the Association.

The membership includes a large number of young girls whose knowledge is necessarily limited and whose interest is most easily caught by accounts of the personal experience of members of their Association in other countries and by the singing of songs that stress international interdependence and sentiments of goodwill. Their leaders, however, do all they can to give content to the conceptions of international relations entertained by the young women who make up the Association.

Promotion of an interest in international relations is part of the general program formulated for the Association by its National Board. The National office receives, from the international headquarters of the Association at Geneva, weekly communications concerning disarmament negotiations and the work of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations; and a section of *The Womans Press* is regularly devoted to news of international relations of all sorts. Representatives of branches in adjacent towns meet, during the winter, for one- or

two-day conferences in which there is discussion of international relations. In summer, conferences are held which bring together delegates from branches in several contiguous states and last a week; international relations are a staple topic of discussion at these longer summer conferences. The interest thus fed from various sources makes its way throughout the organization. The national leaders of the Young Women's Christian Association have taken an influential part in the successive National Conferences on the Cause and Cure of War, and in mobilizing public opinion for the World Court and for disarmament.

The women within the churches have their special interdenominational organizations which are more or less actively interested in foreign questions or peace. The WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION, for example, has a Department of International Relations for Peace which has a national director, state directors in forty-two of the forty-eight states, and under these, county and local directors. Altogether there are about 1,200 women in the active service of the department as directors. Articles on international relations are published in the weekly news organ of the Union, *The Union Signal*, and about 35,000 peace leaflets or playlets are circulated by the organization yearly. The W.C.T.U. is a member of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War and places peace second to prohibition in its interest.

The DENOMINATIONAL GROUPS in the United States—such as the Baptist, Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopal—have special organizations which interest themselves in informing the members of the denomination about international questions. A fairly large proportion of the individual churches of these denominations also give attention to this subject and arrange for the discussion of international questions at some of the regular church meetings. To enumerate all the denominational organizations which carry on such work would be to go far beyond the scope of this survey. It seems worth while, however, to mention briefly the activities along this line of the principal pacifist religious groups of the United States, the Quakers, the Brethren, and the Mennonites. The Unitarian women and those of the Ethical Culture Societies also have their special peace bodies.

The SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, or Quakers, are committed to pacifism by the traditions of their religious faith. They have no commonly binding religious creed but are individualists living by the light of a general philosophy. The unit of their organization is the Monthly Meeting. Twelve Monthly Meetings west of the Alleghanies are organized in a

Five-Yearly Meeting, which is the one group of Friends affiliated with the Federal Council of Churches. The others have not collectively affiliated with any organizations. The individualism of the Friends' philosophy carries over into the preservation of a large degree of autonomy on the part of associated groups.

Their organized activity for the establishment of peace is in keeping with their policy of religious individualism. They do not bind the members of their religious bodies by group commitments on issues of specific policy. They focus their organized activity on education and on the establishment of mutually serviceable relations between individuals and groups of different nationalities. Members of the Society, however, take active part in the work of such associations, not of a religious character, as have adopted platforms with which they are individually in sympathy. Thus the strong interest in peace incubated within the association carries out into all types of enterprises for study of international relations or direction of national policy.

Peace interest within the organization is active and all Yearly Meetings and most Monthly Meetings have peace committees. The Woman's Missionary Union of Friends of America, the Missionary Society of the Five-Yearly Meeting, which meeting has allied itself with the evangelical groups in the Federal Council and approximates their methods, has also its own peace committee. Most of the Yearly Meetings unite in support of the Friends Service Committee. This Committee issues weekly news releases and short articles to some 400 editors, mostly of papers in the smaller centers, sends a *Bulletin* to between 3,000 and 4,000 individuals qualified to make use of international news notes—about 1,700 of them teachers—and to the Peace Committees of Yearly and Monthly Meetings. Only about half the recipients of the *Bulletin* are Friends. The committee also sends out special articles used by some twenty-five or thirty weekly papers. It maintains a circulating library and supplies pamphlets and posters to local groups. For the past half dozen years it has been sending out Peace Caravans of picked young people who, after two weeks of preliminary preparation in an Institute, spend two months touring in a car, hunting up in country neighborhoods and little towns the persons with an interest in international relations or peace, and attempting, with their aid, to spread and enliven such interest. They go in pairs and from seven to fourteen have been sent out each summer.

The CHURCH OF THE BRETHREN is like the Society of Friends in being an organization of religious pacifists. Its Board of Christian Education

sends a quarterly mimeographed letter to some 200 leaders, embodies "peace" material in its quarterly letters to pastors and superintendents, promotes discussion of international relationships by the student bodies of its eight denominational colleges, sends delegates to a yearly "Institute on International Relationships," and has sent a student representative to Mexico. It expresses "peace convictions to government officials with the hope of influencing political action," and cooperates "closely with a number of other peace bodies." The Mennonite Peace Society, a voluntary coordinating agency for the peace work of the Mennonites, is following the example of the Friends Service Committee in sending out Peace Caravans. But, unlike the Brethren and the majority of the Friends, they are in the Federal Council of Churches and count among the denominational peace bodies affiliated with its Department of International Justice and Goodwill.

The GENERAL ALLIANCE UNITARIAN AND OTHER LIBERAL CHRISTIAN WOMEN is an organization with 386 branches, each of which is encouraged to appoint a committee or a chairman in charge of the work in international relations. The work is carried on by means of local programs and in large group conferences. To keep the women informed and interested the Alliance publishes the *International News Sheet* four times during the active church season. The aims of the groups are "to know our fellow liberals abroad; to help those in need; to become less local-minded; and to create international friendship and so peace, feeling that friendships are as important as peace organizations."

The NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE of the American Ethical Union is composed of the active women's organizations within the Union, consisting of the Societies for Ethical Culture in New York City, St. Louis, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The work of the Committee on International Relations is the only joint activity of the Conference. It holds an annual meeting at the time of the conferences of the National Committee for the Cause and Cure of War, of which it is a constituent member, and it follows out the program determined by the National Committee.

The CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS, as has already been pointed out, cooperate with both the Protestants and the Jews in the activities of peace organizations and of other bodies which are seeking to promote better international understanding. The number of Protestants in the United States is greater than that of either the Catholics or the Jews. The Protestants are broken up into a large number of denominations,

which circumstance has led to the creation of an almost correspondingly large number of Protestant organizations interested in peace and good will. Protestant activities, therefore, are more conspicuous than those of the Jews and the Catholics. Nevertheless the work of these latter organizations is of great importance. Some of these organizations have already been mentioned.

Among the Catholics in the United States, the principal body directly concerned with furthering the peace movement is the Catholic Association for International Peace. This is one of the five branches of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council. The Association itself has thirteen committees, seven of which concern themselves with particular subjects while the other six deal with relations with geographical areas. In the first group are the Committees on Agriculture, Economic Relations, Ethics, History, International Law and Organization, National Attitudes, and Peace Education. The second group includes Committees on Asia, Canada, Europe, Latin America, and United States dependencies.

Each of these committees of the Association issues pamphlets and other material which include, or are accompanied by, outlines for study and discussion and bibliographies. These committees work in cooperation with the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women, each of which in turn has several hundred branches. The International Relations Clubs in the Catholic colleges also keep closely in touch with the Catholic Association for International Peace. This Association thus reaches out through the well-knit Catholic organization to bring before a very substantial part of the Catholic community in the United States the information which the Association gathers and distributes in its international educational efforts. The monthly publication of the National Catholic Welfare Council, *Catholic Action*, also serves as a channel for bringing issues in and information about international relations to the attention of the Catholics. This has a circulation of something over 10,000. A Catholic weekly publication, *The Commonweal*, less exclusively devoted to reports of Catholic activities, also carries a considerable amount of foreign news and comment on international events. The Association holds an annual conference in the spring which is largely attended. At these conferences international questions are usually especially featured.

JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS of various types are interested in the study of international relations, both as part of their own independent activi-

ties, and in collaboration with the Protestant and Catholic bodies just described.

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906 for the purpose of preventing the infraction of religious and civil rights of Jews in any part of the world, keeps currently informed of all international matters which may have any relation to its objects. In the office of the Committee is compiled and edited the *American Jewish Year Book*, in which is included annually a comprehensive review of events of interest to, or affecting, Jews in any part of the world, with special attention to the relation of these events to the Jewish community in America, and the reaction of that community to occurrences and trends of Jewish interest all over the world. The *Year Book* also includes statistical and other features regarding Jewish communities in foreign lands, immigration, and emigration.

Besides the *Year Book*, which is published by the Jewish Publication Society of America, the Committee itself publishes an annual *Report* describing its activities and dealing comprehensively with international relations and foreign affairs insofar as they directly or indirectly affect the activities of the Committee. These activities are directed not only to the improvement of the political and civil status of the Jews in foreign countries, but also to the betterment of international relations on a basis of goodwill. The secretary and other officers of the Committee occasionally make European trips for the purpose of making a survey of conditions on the spot.

The Committee occasionally publishes bulletins and pamphlets dealing with specific matters. It has now on the press a booklet presenting an objective statement of the situation of the Jews in Germany under the Hitler régime.

The American Jewish Congress is a central Jewish body in the United States with which many of the Jewish organizations are associated. Under the leadership of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, its principal international interest has been in the "task of the up-building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine" and it has laid considerable emphasis on the "conception of the Jewish people as a unified national organism." In view of the increasingly difficult times for the Jews in Germany, the American Jewish Congress took the initiative in calling a preliminary Congress in August, 1932, looking toward the creation of a World Jewish Congress which should act for the Jews of the world. The American Jewish Congress has been especially active recently in efforts to combat the moves in Germany against Jews.

Working primarily in the United States, but especially important and active in the field of developing understanding of international questions, is the National Council of Jewish Women, which concentrates a large part of its program on the promotion of peace activities. It is organized in about 200 sections throughout the country and each section has a national chairman on peace, runs at least one large peace meeting a year, and sponsors study groups on international relations. At the triennial conference of the Council, the section chairmen meet and plan a united program, and the national conference passes resolutions defining the specific policies which the Council supports. The Council is affiliated with various organizations, such as the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Committee on Militarism in Education, the League of Nations Association, and others.

The Jewish Welfare Board, under which operate 260 branches in the Young Men's Hebrew Association, Young Women's Hebrew Association, and Jewish Community Centers, sponsors forum and debate discussion and the use of speakers on international subjects as educational activities, but it does not support any definite national policy. The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America has a Committee on International Peace which helps the Sisterhoods and the Women's Branch of the Union in arranging peace programs in cooperation with various specific organizations such as the League of Nations Association, the National Council for the Prevention of War, and others. The National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods have a definite program for cooperation in activities promoting world peace working both through the national organization and the local groups. The B'nai B'rith similarly sponsors activities through its club work. It cooperates in international issues with the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The Young Men's Hebrew Association and the Young Women's Hebrew Association interest themselves in international questions through study groups, lectures and Association meetings.

Many of these organizations carry on active work in connection with immigration and placing of immigrant families, and Zionist activities, and maintain relations with fraternal groups abroad; but such activities do not need to be considered in this survey as they do not seem to further the actual study or knowledge of international relations.

MISSIONARY ORGANIZATIONS

Missionary organizations are not restricted to any particular religious group. More and more, however, the missionary activities of all religious sects have brought their members into intimate contact with international problems.

The Protestant interdenominational organization which is specifically interested in education of Americans in relation to missionary work is the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. The Movement was organized thirty years ago and it has come to be the joint agency "through which a large number of denominational boards of missions, home and foreign, and educational boards of the churches cooperate in extending through their constituencies an education program regarding world conditions and needs and regarding the varied work which the churches are doing through their missionary bodies." At present thirty-five Boards of Missions and educational bodies representing seventeen different denominations cooperate actively in the Movement.

The Movement issues annually from eight to twelve new books which have a total sale of about 135,000 copies each year. In addition it brings out a considerable array of pamphlets of suggestions to leaders of classes and quite a variety of accessory material in the form of maps, plays, and pictures, some of which are especially designed for the education of younger children. This material for children stresses "very largely the idea of world friendship and international understanding among boys and girls of different races." In the adult field, numerous "schools of missions" are held in churches where for a period of from six to eight weeks classes meet, and frequently quite intensive work is done in studying the general political and economic conditions of the countries in which missionary work is being carried on. Many lecture courses are given on the general themes of the books issued by the Movement. There is also a widely extended series of summer schools especially for young people in which the Movement's courses are followed for a week to ten days and teachers are trained to carry on similar classes in their own local churches during the succeeding autumn and winter. The secretary, Mr. Franklin D. Cogswell, estimates that several million people each year are touched in a more or less intensive way through the agencies of missionary education. It is significant that practically three-fourths of the costs of the work done by the Movement are met from the sales of its publications.

The women also have interdenominational organizations for home missions and for foreign missions—the Council of Women for Home Missions has a Committee on International Relations which works in close cooperation with the Department of International Justice and Goodwill of the Federal Council of Churches and with other organizations interesting themselves in international affairs. It distributes pamphlets on international subjects to women's local missionary groups and organizes study groups at summer conferences. The Federation of the Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America has been a member of the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War and active in carrying on a program of study in international relations in addition to its special interest in foreign countries where missionary work is done. In January, 1934, this Federation became fully integrated with the Foreign Missions Conference (see below). The Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions closely affiliated with this Federation, continues now its relation to the Foreign Missions Conference through its new Committee on Women's Work.

Each of the principal Protestant denominations has its own special board for planning and carrying on foreign missionary work. So many of the problems which developed as a result of this work were substantially the same for the different boards, however, that the leading denominational organizations in the United States and Canada cooperated in the establishment of the Foreign Missions Conferences of North America. The American missionary organizations also play an important part in the International Missionary Council which has headquarters in London, New York, and Geneva and includes in its membership national federations and Christian councils in a score of mission organizations from several different countries. The affiliated organization in America is the Foreign Missions Conference of North America which embraces Evangelical denominational foreign missions boards. A number of other agencies also have been set up in the United States which act as coordinating bodies or as clearing houses for information of interest to all the denominational groups.

These joint organizations do not attempt to dictate the policies which different denominational mission boards shall pursue, but they provide central agencies for consultation on common problems and facilities for gathering and distributing information of common interest. The Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the International Missionary Council with which it is affiliated, for example, were largely instrumental in arranging for the studies of Christian education which

recently have been made in India and Japan,¹⁶ and for retaining Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, formerly president of the Michigan Agricultural College, to study and advise in reference to the application of Christian ideals to the agricultural and rural life of the peoples in Africa, India, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

As in the cases of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., the whole program of Protestant missions has been the subject of a good deal of discussion in recent years and not a little criticism has been directed against their methods and purposes. A group of leading laymen representing seven of the principal denominational mission boards sponsored an independent "Laymen's Inquiry" of missionary work in India, Burma, China, and Japan, which was initiated in 1930 and completed after two years. A staff of thirty investigators, known as "Fact-Finders," spent the first year in Asia gathering social, religious, and economic data pertinent to an appraisal of the Protestant missionary work, which have since been published. Cognizant of these findings, an appraisal commission of eminent Christian men and women, headed by Professor W. E. Hocking of Harvard University, spent the second year visiting the same countries. Its conclusions and recommendations were published in a volume, *Rethinking Missions*, which has had a circulation of more than 50,000.¹⁷

One important consequence of this survey has been a quite substantial amount of study of conditions abroad, not only by the churchmen and others primarily interested in missionary work, but also by college students and other secular groups. The inquiry itself and the opinions expressed as a result of the studies have called forth criticism as well as praise with the result that newspapers of the United States have given a fair amount of space to the inquiry and incidentally to foreign missionary work.

The missionary activities of the Catholic Church, of course, center at Rome, and American Catholics do relatively little directly in maintaining missionary undertakings; their contributions for this purpose go through the Church channels rather than specifically into projects with which they are specially concerned. The American section of the Benedictine Order, however, at the request of the central Catholic

¹⁶ *The Christian College in India*, Oxford University Press, 1931. *Christian Education in Japan*, The International Missionary Council, 1932.

¹⁷ Harper Brothers, 1932. A series of seven other volumes has also been published, called "Fact-Finders" volumes, and "Regional Reports." The former contain factual data about each country studied, while the latter three consist of supplemental statements by the appraisers.

authorities, some years ago established a university at Peiping, China, and maintains this university out of funds raised in the United States. This contact is the source of a considerable amount of distribution of information about conditions in China among those associated with the Benedictine Order in this country. In the Catholic churches, also, returned Catholic missionaries not infrequently are asked to tell of their work and conditions in the lands where they have lived. The various Catholic religious publications carry material about the missionary lands. The Catholics, however, are not as active as the Protestants in specific efforts to spread education about foreign countries as this relates to the problems of maintaining missionary activity.

The very active missionary movement of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons) is unique in that laymen go on voluntary missions to all parts of the earth, thus demonstrating their devotion to their faith and to their Church. This missionary work is all the more remarkable because these missionaries are self-supporting, or, at most, are aided by voluntary personal gifts or help from their families and neighbors who take a pride in this missionary service which is intended to win converts to the faith. In the early days it also brought converts to the body of the Church as settlers in Utah and surrounding territory. At the end of a two- or three-year mission the young missionary returns to his home and is there honored for his personal devotion and the voluntary giving of his time in the missionary cause. These missionaries are called from all walks of life. Some are farmers, some stock raisers, merchants, or the sons of men engaged in these occupations. Many of them are taken from the middle of their college course and when they return resume their education feeling that their experiences abroad have greatly enhanced their school training by the rich experiences they have gained. There is in the Church no organized missionary movement with trained agents in the field whose support must be secured by education of the membership in the Church at home to the conditions and needs of peoples in foreign lands. No conscious international interests have developed out of this missionary movement of the Church. The young Mormon who has been on a mission to Germany, Sweden, or England will return with much valued information in relation to the customs, traditions, and political governments of these lands, but there is no effort on the part of these missionaries while abroad to enter into the social, economic, and political behavior of these foreign peoples. On the whole, it should be said that Mormons are intensely patriotic Americans; at home they are mainly an agri-

cultural people. Mining and other similar activities they have left largely to their Gentile neighbors, although they do engage in most other business and professional pursuits. To the Mormons is due largely the success of the beet-sugar industry in the United States, and they have been champions of the making of domestic sugar as opposed to foreign sugar. They have also been taught from the beginning the value of home manufacture and to be independent as far as possible in this regard.

The Jewish community in the United States does practically nothing in the way of efforts to spread the Jewish faith in non-Jewish lands. A good deal of attention is given, however, to the furthering of such undertakings as the Zionist Movement and to efforts to improve the status of Jews in various countries. In connection with this activity, the leading Jewish organizations endeavor to keep their clientele informed of what is happening abroad.

PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICES

THE PRESS

Particularly since the World War, the news agencies and the larger newspapers which are run on a commercial basis, have very materially increased foreign news services. The Associated Press, the United Press, and the International News Service (Hearst) are the principal agencies supplying foreign news by cable as well as by mail to newspapers which subscribe to their service. The North American Newspaper Alliance furnishes excellent foreign news in the form of mail articles. The Federated Press specializes on labor news. All the larger newspapers have their own special correspondents in various foreign centers, and there has been a tendency for a number of the smaller papers to unite in maintaining a correspondent. Many of the larger papers maintain syndicate services through which they distribute to smaller papers, cable and other foreign news which they receive—thereby in part covering their own heavy cost in getting the news and also serving to distribute fuller accounts to the smaller papers than these latter could otherwise afford.

The very substantial increase in the amount of money which the American newspapers and news agencies spend for foreign news (it was fairly reliably reported in the early spring of 1932 that the New York City newspapers alone were spending \$10,000 a day for news from Shanghai) is some indication of the growth of interest in foreign affairs.

In this connection it should be said that special foreign correspondents of the great metropolitan dailies and the *Christian Science Monitor*—in China, Japan, Russia, Germany, and other parts of the world—have become experts in the local conditions and international affairs through prolonged residence in those countries. In consequence their explanatory news items, general articles, and editorial material have made real contributions to the understanding of foreign countries and international relations. Several of these correspondents have also written books which have been both provocative and profitable.

The news summaries, country by country, which are prepared by university professors who are associate editors of *Current History*, are skillful interpretations of this news interwoven with much that is obtained directly from foreign journals. *Current History*, a monthly journal also presents articles on world affairs by experts and scholars; these in many cases have made real contributions to current understanding of international relations.

One or two small-scale attempts have been made to determine the amount of space given by American newspapers to foreign news and to the discussion of foreign affairs. No comprehensive survey of this kind has been made, however, although such a survey unquestionably would yield information of extraordinary significance. There is very little doubt that the American newspapers taken as a whole carry proportionately more news about developments throughout the world than do the newspapers of any other Western country. Perhaps the newspapers in Japan equal those in the United States in this respect.

If a study of this kind could be made it should include an analysis not only of the amount of space given to foreign subjects and of the proportion of this space to the total space for all news, but also of the proportion of the total expenditure for news and special articles which is devoted to foreign news and articles on foreign subjects. The probabilities would seem to be that, as in the case of news space, the American newspapers spend proportionately considerably more for their foreign news than do the newspapers of other countries—although it should be borne in mind that no careful study has been made to furnish data either supporting or refuting this statement.

PRESS RELEASES

All of the organizations which are interested in promoting popular study or knowledge of international relations take more or less carefully planned steps to get information pertinent to their purposes into

the newspapers and other general publications. This circulation of information is intended to supplement rather than to replace the distribution of news to the members of the organizations or to special groups of individuals with whom the organizations may have contacts. Only a few of the larger organizations have established the preparation and distribution of these press releases on a sufficiently well-planned and professional basis to get, for the material which they send out, regular and serious consideration from the leading newspapers and other periodicals.

News notes sent by local branches of the national organizations—especially if they deal with something which has a direct local interest, such as a meeting attended by prominent citizens—are generally published by the local newspapers in the smaller communities. The great metropolitan dailies, however, have a well-established practice of refusing to publish any material which is sent to them by special promotional organizations, although they not infrequently will use part of this material as the basis for stories prepared by members of their own staff. The degree to which the larger newspapers use this press-release material from such organizations as those which have been considered here depends in no small part on the confidence which the papers have acquired in the reliability and impartiality of the reports which they get. This applies to a considerable extent to the publication of clip-sheet material sent out to smaller papers from central offices of the larger organizations.

A few of the organizations which have been discussed in this section of the survey have their own representatives at Geneva or at other important international centers and distribute through press releases and in their own published material detailed or especially focused reports from their correspondents. The League of Nations Association is one such body. The National Council for the Prevention of War is another. The Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Federal Council of Churches, and many of the missionary bodies distribute news material based on reports which they receive from their workers all over the world. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Friends Service Committee, like other organizations especially interested in the campaign for peace, circulate news which is significant from this point of view. The Foreign Policy Association makes no practice of sending out press releases regularly, although its *Foreign Policy Reports* and its weekly *Bulletin* (which have been discussed elsewhere¹⁸) circulate

¹⁸ Cf. pp. 82, 83.

to most of the newspaper editors in the country. A full list of all the organizations which issue press releases more or less regularly would include practically all of those mentioned in this section. What has been said already indicates the several types of this kind of activity.

THE CINEMA

The conditions for the showing of motion pictures, the schedules and make-up of programs, and the arrangements for distribution of films to movie theaters have not encouraged interpolation of special showings in public places. "Educational films" not adopted by commercial agencies are shown usually in schools.

Although the regular news reels tend to keep cinema patrons informed on more spectacular happenings, such items contribute little to a continuous knowledge of the meaning behind events. The showing in the movies of naval maneuvers, tank operations, and military displays, with their strong and universal appeal to primitive emotion, unassociated in their showing with any implication of the uses of military equipment, is often deplored by those interested in developing rational consideration of national policies. Organized attempts have been made to bring this disapproval to the attention of the managers of movie theaters. One of the most important of these is the Motion Picture Research Council, under the direction of William H. Short, which has studied the reaction of audiences to various kinds of films for several years through researches carried on in several universities, the findings of which, now published in a number of volumes, form the basis of its program.

The Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace published in 1932 a list called *Motion Pictures on Foreign Countries and on International Relations*. Among the films mentioned is one called *Seeing the League of Nations*, six copies of which are kept in circulation by the League of Nations Association: another called *Must War Be?* is available from the Peace Film Foundation, a non-profit organization, to "help educate the public on peace and disarmament." Seventeen academic institutions are listed as furnishing films, and nineteen organizations and Government departments. Since this list was published some changes and additions may be noted. The Committee on the Cause and Cure of War has a picture on the Briand-Kellogg Treaty; Pathé Exchange has school pictures of human, world, and commercial geography, and International Educational Pictures, a non-profit organization, was started three years ago to distribute non-commercial pictures on educational and international subjects.

Mention should also be made of the International Institute of Educational Cinematography established by the Italian Government under the auspices of the League of Nations in connection with the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Conferences of this body are attended by the heads of the motion picture industry in all countries and by the leading educational experts. Special attention is given to the use of films in education, and connections are maintained with the Bureau of Education and with the American Council on Education at Washington.

THE RADIO¹⁹

In the United States of America radio broadcasting has been operating under the Radio Act of 1927 as amended from time to time. The measure was passed originally as a compromise, and has admittedly been unsatisfactory. It does not represent a well-considered attempt to set up a system of regulation to ensure the maximum beneficial use of the available facilities for public purposes. It was expedient to end the confusion which resulted earlier from an attempt to regulate broadcasting under the Act of 1912, which was passed when radio was used primarily for maritime, amateur and experimental communication. Under the Act of 1927 and to administer it there was set up a Federal Radio Commission. The authority of the Commission in respect to the technical operation of the radio broadcasting system in the United States of America has been absolute; it was given no authority, however, over program production and management, except that programs must be in the public interest, convenience and necessity. Obscenity and profanity are barred under the Act.

The Commission's operations have been so largely shaped by considerations other than those of public policy that it has not initiated any comprehensive investigation nor published any useful findings comparable to the surveys and reports of the Inter-State Commerce Commission on, e.g., Railroad Consolidation. This fact and the growing realization of the importance of developing the public service possibilities of broadcasting in America as contrasted with the commercial, have led to suggestions for substantial changes in the underlying legislation.

The present administration has suggested the formation of a Federal Communications Commission, which should have jurisdiction over all forms of communications,²⁰ including radio broadcasting. As a result

¹⁹ Data for this section was furnished by Mr. Levering Tyson, director of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education.

²⁰ On February 27, 1934, in accordance with the President's message to the Senate on the preceding day, Mr. Dill introduced a bill providing for a Federal

of this suggestion the whole subject of broadcasting is in a state of flux and is to be readjusted, either immediately or in the near future.

Measures which should be initiated to establish the most effective ways of developing programs of the broadest educational significance will, in the next few years, be a subject of consideration by interested parties all over the country. Hastily improvised statement of what might be ways in which broadcasting should be set up in the United States so as to accomplish these large purposes would be opinion only, and not well-considered outline of what might later be used as a basis for practical suggestions. Only after conferences by foremost public men and authorities in this country can a mature judgment on this subject be arrived at. It is apparent that the whole subject will be given wide consideration in the next few years.

On the basis of the 1930 figures it is estimated that there are in the United States between seventeen and eighteen million receiving sets, installed in more than 40 percent of American homes. In the last few years a tendency has developed to manufacture and distribute "midget" and "portable" sets. These have appeared in large numbers, and make it difficult to estimate the actual number of receivers. For example, many makes of automobiles are now equipped for radio reception as a matter of course, and in some cities taxicab companies have installed sets.

Recognizing the consequent importance of this means of reaching the people, commercial firms which desire to advertise their products and organizations interested in education in its broader sense, spend time, money, and effort to "put on the air" programs which will advance their purposes. The shaping of the programs which actually are broadcast, however, is influenced largely by the fact that all the more important broadcasting stations are privately owned and are operated as commercial undertakings.

There are approximately six hundred broadcasting stations in the country, and because practically all of these are privately owned there is no single central coordinating agency for arranging programs. In practice, with respect to broadcasting, the work of the Federal Radio Commission has consisted chiefly in regulating the technical operation

Communications Commission to exercise the same control over communications by wire and radio that the Interstate Commerce Commission exercises over railroads. On April 4, a substitute bill, S. 3285, for the regulation of interstate and foreign communications was introduced and referred to the Committee on Interstate Commerce; and on April 5, a parallel bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, H.R. 8977, and referred to Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries.

of stations. In determining the make-up of the programs the responsibility rests entirely with the private companies. So the situation is radically different from that in most European countries.

In spite of criticism of blatant advertising, which criticism is very fervent in some quarters, the competition between the companies owning great chains of broadcasting stations has tended steadily to raise the general standard of the radio programs, which are directed to the vast majority of listeners who are little interested in intellectual problems and not much more than incidentally in the problems of politics. The companies find it to their advantage to give a substantial amount of their time to what are called "sustaining" (non-commercial) programs in order to increase the value to advertisers of the time which is devoted to "sponsored" programs, which are paid for by the advertisers.²¹ A recent Federal inquiry showed that approximately two-thirds of the time is given to sustaining, and one-third to sponsored, programs.

The programs which are designed specifically for adult education generally find their place in the time allotted by the broadcasting companies to sustaining programs. The companies themselves also occasionally arrange such educational programs.

Most of the programs which are sponsored by commercial houses for advertising purposes are designed solely for entertainment purposes. Certain of these sponsored programs, however, are distinctly educational in character. A fairly large number of regular news broadcasts go on the air, for example; these summaries of events are made by various well-known writers or newspaper commentators. The less flip-pant of these news broadcasters generally include in their reports to the radio audience accounts of, and comments on, important developments outside the United States as well as within this country. These "foreign" events are dealt with in pretty much the same way as are the domestic events. It not infrequently happens that an important world event will get most of the time of a serious news broadcast. The broadcasts at the time of the opening of the Economic Conference at London in 1933, for instance, gave considerably more attention to this subject than to any event in the United States. These serious news broadcasts, therefore, are an important element in educating the American people to a realization of the importance of foreign affairs.

In the last few years the numerous organizations which are inter-

²¹ See Pierre Key's *Radio Annual: a Survey of the Year in Radio*. New York, Pierre Key Publishing Corporation, 1933.

ested in using the air for educational purposes have cooperated in the creation of two national bodies. These are the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, and the National Committee on Education by Radio. Neither body is official in the sense of being a governmental agency. The groups which have representatives on the National Committee with one exception have members on the Advisory Council, and the latter body includes representatives of a great many other organizations. The Advisory Council also has active foreign associations through which close and constant relationship is maintained concerning the development of the educational use of the radio in principal foreign countries and in the United States. Cooperation has been established with the British Broadcasting Corporation and the central radio organizations in Austria, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Italy, Sweden, and other countries. The director of the Advisory Council, Mr. Levering Tyson, is chairman of the Radio Committee of the World Association for Adult Education and also of the Radio Sub-Committee of the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation. The Advisory Council includes in its active membership individuals representative in all fields of education, government officers, and many eminent citizens interested generally in the public welfare. Some sixty American organizations cooperate with the Advisory Council.

Forty-three foreign organizations also work with the Advisory Council, these being located in Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, East Africa, England, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Hungary, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Jugoslavia, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey.

The National Advisory Council on Radio in Education directs its attention especially to stimulating an interest in programs of educational value and to facilitating broadcasting of such programs. It serves as a clearing house for information on all aspects of the use of the radio in education. It cooperates with volunteer organizations in planning programs, and with the American Library Association in preparing reading lists for listeners. Practically every one of the associations which cooperate with the Council have special radio committees and plan broadcast programs. For example, the Foreign Policy Association and the League for Industrial Democracy broadcast the discussions at their fortnightly luncheon meetings in New York and are responsible for other broadcasts. The "Ohio School of the Air" has presented programs of "students in foreign lands" which were offered to the schools

in Ohio on every school day between two and three o'clock. The Chicago public schools have talks on foreign lands, as do the educational associations in many other cities and states. A regular series of weekly broadcasts by prominent individuals in Europe has been put on the air in the United States by arrangements between the principal broadcasting companies in this country and foreign broadcasting agencies. Among the latter, the International Radio Forum has been especially active in promoting education in international relations.

CHAPTER XVI

CHANNELS OF INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL CONTACT

THEIR CHARACTER

THE following pages attempt to outline the contributions of the work of the agencies through which Americans establish international intellectual contacts in the fields of student affairs, fellowships, and scholarships, travel, summer schools, and professional exchanges. A critical study of the facts set forth will inevitably suggest certain conclusions.

In the main these conclusions will not be flattering to American organizational genius. The record is one of much money spent, as well as of a bewildering duplication and overlapping of programs with all the attendant evils of confusion and discouragement. There is also apparent a certain organizational determination to act in accordance with the principles of individualism. Consequently, while the list which follows will include many undertakings of worth-while nature, it must also signal many failures due in part to the desire to apply knowledge before it is assimilated; in part to the inability, because of lack of co-ordination, to benefit from the common stock of advances made and advantages gained. Finally, the survey must be taken as a brief and incomplete record of a period of experimentation in a relatively new field.

The essentially decentralized nature of American higher education makes it extremely difficult to evaluate progress made in our colleges and universities, where it is only recently that the teaching of international relations has begun to have its effect upon the provincialism of American students. It must be remembered that the philosophy of "freedom from entangling alliances" operated as an element of indoctrination in American institutions over a long period of years.

Examination of the programs of American student organizations will reveal a considerable element of impracticality in their make-up, and bear out the contention that American idealism varies in direct ratio to the distance from the scene of suppression. The absence of direct

and actual contact between American and foreign student organizations must necessarily be a source of regret.

The generosity of American colleges and universities in providing scholarships for foreign students, as well as in granting stipends for study abroad by American students, is very great. It is only unfortunate that in certain instances the degree of supervision and preparation for foreign study is not adequate.

Perhaps in no field, however, is the confusion so great as it is in the realm of foreign travel. The necessity for meeting commercial competition and balancing budgets has forced many agencies to lower their standards with the result that while a few people travel, a great many more are transported. There exists a great need for a more careful and thoroughgoing evaluation of educational travel organizations than has been possible in the following pages. It should be done by a committee of experts in order that agencies dealing with intellectual cooperation may give intelligent advice to persons requesting information on this complex subject.

The competition between foreign summer schools has also resulted in confusion, but it is not at all clear that this has lowered the standard of work done in individual summer sessions.

In view of recent developments, the activities outlined in the following sections lend adequate support to the conviction that efforts toward intellectual cooperation in the United States compare favorably with those of other nations. That we have been groping in the dark for instruments and methods is obvious; that we have undertaken activities in these five fields with the enthusiasm and vigor of a young nation is equally apparent. The force of the depression is tending to eliminate many organizations which might have been termed emotional and superfluous, but that same influence is now endangering much of the valuable and concrete work which has been achieved during the past decade. At the present time more than ever before is there need for centralization of effort if we are to salvage the many valuable elements from the programs of organizations and institutions engaged in the promotion of international understanding.

AMERICAN STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS

Student participation in political affairs is foreign to the American academic tradition, and this fact, coupled with that provincialism which is at once the glory and the curse of American education, has militated against the establishment of a strong, centralized student movement in

this country.¹ The impact of the current economic depression, however, has caused a certain shifting of emphasis in the program of the majority of national student organizations from a rather vague, emotional international awareness to a concrete interest in national, political, social, economic, and educational problems. The much-criticized smug and complacent political indifference of the youth of this country is gradually disappearing. In fact the intercollegiate and interstate student international relations conferences² are an indication that discussion of international affairs has already become a student activity.

From time to time several intercollegiate press associations have been in existence, but apparently no real survey has been conducted to determine the amount of international news, or news bearing on international problems, appearing in the undergraduate press of the country. It is likely that such a study would demonstrate still another element of provincialism in extra-curricular activities. There is need for adequate funds to subsidize an effective news release to student newspapers giving information concerning student happenings in other parts of the world.

Inasmuch as they cannot be termed student organizations, no detailed mention has been made of the three large International Houses located at Columbia University, the University of Chicago, and the University of California. Under normal conditions each of these three houses provides for 500 students in residence and approximately an equal number of non-resident members. The ratio has previously been about three foreign students to one American, but the current depression has almost reversed these figures and the American student is now in the majority. These houses are actual and potential factors in bringing about understanding between students of diverse nationalities.

The FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, through its Student Committee at national headquarters and through its branches cooperating with all types of student groups—such as high schools, colleges, and national student organizations—acts as a clearing house for information and factual material on international affairs needed by students in their

¹ It should be observed that no mention is made in this survey of the large number of national social fraternities and sororities throughout the country, some of which have chapters in more than 100 colleges and universities. It is to be regretted that so far they have made little or no effort to exercise their tremendous potential influence toward developing international-mindedness or social and political consciousness among the members of their various chapters. (For complete information on the subject of fraternities in this country, consult William Raimond Baird, *Manual of American College Fraternities*, Menasha, Wis., 1930.

² Cf. p. 126.

curricular and extra-curricular activities. In New York during the school season the Foreign Policy Association Student Committee conducts a student discussion on current international problems from the student point of view.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT SERVICE is an organization that supplements the courses on national and international affairs presented to college and university students, with practical experience with people and conditions. Its work in the United States is carried on by the American Committee, of which Mr. Francis A. Henson is secretary.

The Department of Cultural Cooperation of the International Student Service arranges yearly for about one hundred American students to participate in work camps in Germany, Holland, Wales, Switzerland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Students may go into the camps free or for a nominal sum and there come to know students of different nationalities, as well as the inhabitants of the district in which the camp is situated. This department also organizes about a dozen small study conferences, to which American students are admitted, bringing together student leaders, professors, and writers, for example: the Conference for Students of Journalism, Geneva; the Franco-American Conference, Paris; the Anglo-Franco-German Conference, Leyden; the Franco-Spanish Conference, Toulouse; the Thirteenth Annual Conference of I.S.S., Bouffemont, France. In addition International Student Service conducts special study tours to Europe for carefully selected American Students, such as the Tour of Students of Journalism, and the Tour of Political Science, as well as the Delegation to I.S.S. Conference. It publishes a quarterly magazine (*I.S.S. Annals*) and a monthly news bulletin (*More Facts*) which keep the students of the United States informed on trends in world student thought.

The Department of University Research studies problems of the modern university. It recently published *The University in a Changing World* and is now working on a volume entitled *The Overcrowding of the University*. Mr. James Parkes is devoting full time to the history of Anti-Semitism. He has published one volume, *The Jew and His Neighbor*, and is working on a second volume, *The Origins of Anti-Semitism*.

Because of the dire need among students forced to leave Germany within the last year, I.S.S. has set up a Department of Student Relief which is assisting the refugees by finding them positions, giving them scholarships to continue their studies or reorienting them in the direction of agriculture and the trades.

The work of I.S.S. is carried on by an international staff of eight people in Geneva and cooperating committees in fifteen different countries. Dr. Max H. Schneebeli is the general secretary.

The ASSOCIATION OF COSMOPOLITAN CLUBS has for its object the development of the spirit of human justice, tolerance, cooperation, and brotherhood in the world. It attempts to serve humanity without regard to race, creed, color, or nationality by fostering this doctrine among college and university students of all nationalities. Its program includes provision for lectures, "national nights," dinners and luncheons with speakers, in each of its various chapters. Membership is limited to university or college students, and it is the aim of the Association to keep the groups cosmopolitan in character. There are at present 500 members. The principal source of income consists of national dues, and the approximate budget for 1932³ was \$500. The Association publishes *The Cosmopolitan Review*, and maintains an international affiliation with the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants.

AVUKAH, American Student Zionist Federation, was founded to spread the Zionist movement among the Jewish student bodies on the campuses of American universities. It should be noted that Avukah includes in the Zionist movement not only interest in up-building Palestine, but also a revival of Hebrew art and letters, and a renaissance in creative Jewish life. Groups when organized in the various colleges, are supplied with literature by the National Federation. Provision is made for occasional regional and national conferences. During 1934 the Eastern Region Conference was held in New York City in February; the Mid-Western Region met at Madison, Wisconsin, in April. The Ninth Annual National Convention was held at Glen Country Lodge, Glen Spey, N. Y., on June 23-24.

At the present time, Avukah has about 1,000 student members. Dues are \$1.00 per year. In addition to the receipts from membership, contributions are secured from interested individuals. A considerable amount of the organization's activity is on a voluntary basis. The budget for the current academic year will probably not exceed \$1,000.

³ Data for the section were assembled before all the 1933 reports were available. Since statistics concerning membership and budgets are useful to indicate the relative strength of the organizations and travel agencies it is not particularly important which one of the recent years is chosen. In all probability the figures for 1932 are a better gage of recent activities than the figures for 1934 will be, because the current year is showing marked effects of the five years of depression. Figures for 1933 are in general slightly lower than the same figures for 1932.

The organization has published the *Brandeis Avukah Annual*, a volume of 850 pages containing seventy-five essays on various aspects of Zionist thought and history. Other publications include the *Avukah Annual—1931*, *The Challenge of Avukah*, and various outlines and mimeographed material.

Another educational project is the Avukah Summer School, the fifth annual session of which was held June 20-July 3, 1934. The lecture course has for its subject "Zionism and World Chaos."

THE FEDERATION OF COLLEGE CATHOLIC CLUBS was established to promote, organize, and aid Newman Clubs and Catholic student clubs in non-Catholic secular universities, colleges, and other institutions of higher learning for the purpose of mutual helpfulness and united effort in promoting the religious, intellectual, moral, and social standing of their members, and to aid generally in the work of the Roman Catholic Church.

In addition to sponsoring Newman Clubs and publishing the *Newman News*, which appears as a quarterly during the school year, the Federation sponsors alumni medical and dental guilds and clinics, and carries on charitable and settlement work.

A meeting of all member clubs is held annually at a national conference, and various provincial meetings are held throughout the year. Membership is open to all Catholic students, and there are 144 club units with an approximate membership of 70,000 individual students. The income of individual clubs is derived from membership fees, donations, and profits realized on dances, card parties, and other functions. The Federation's income is derived from individual club dues, jewelry sales, conference profits, and contributions from various sources. The approximate budget for 1933 was \$1,500.

The Federation has contacts, but no direct affiliation, with Pax Romana in Europe, and with several Newman Clubs in the Philippines, South America, China, and Japan.

THE GREEN INTERNATIONAL is a league of students from among the schools, colleges, and universities of the world who are intent on war resistance. Members (membership does not exceed 1,000) are identified by wearing a green shirt on specified occasions. The organization is maintained by Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler; it is not confined strictly to student groups, but aims rather to organize autonomous groups in kindergarten, in public and private schools, in seminaries, colleges, and in universities, as well as in labor and trade groups; no figures are available as to the extent of its backing. It is sponsored

by Peace Patriots, War Resisters' International, War Resisters' League, Women's Peace Society, and New History Society. It has international affiliations with L'Internationale Verte.

The INTERCOLLEGIATE COUNCIL ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION (formerly Intercollegiate Disarmament Council) was founded in the summer of 1931 by a group of American students studying in Geneva. This was done in the hope of arousing American students to the issues at stake in the World Disarmament Conference. More recently the scope of the Council has been extended to include economic interrelationships. Its general purpose, according to the Council, is "to make American students better understand international affairs and realize the need of international cooperation for the maintenance of peace." Its program for the current year includes three specific projects: the sponsoring of model World Economic Disarmament Conferences, both intercollegiate and intramural; arrangements for the showing of the peace film, "Must War Be?", in colleges and universities; and the promotion of speeches by students in clubs, schools, and churches on the subject of disarmament. The Council's program for 1934 includes study of the basic factors determining domestic and foreign policy, student and graduate discussion groups dealing with both national and international questions, and a series of radio broadcasts.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CLUBS. The International Relations Clubs are groups of students organized by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in universities, colleges, and normal schools, who meet regularly to discuss international relations. The underlying purpose of the Clubs is to encourage the impartial study of international affairs. It is expressly understood that all discussions will be objective, and that no pressure of propaganda in support of any one view will be exerted. It is hoped through this method to educate and enlighten public opinion, and to fix the attention of students on underlying principles of international conduct, international law, and international organization, which must be agreed upon and applied if a peaceful civilization is to endure.

The Division of Intercourse and Education of the Carnegie Endowment supplies these Clubs with books and pamphlets on international affairs, suggestions for programs, and a Fortnightly Summary of International Events prepared in the Endowment's offices for the use of the Clubs.

There are at present approximately 600 International Relations Clubs, organized in every state in the United States, in Hawaii, Puerto

Rico, and the Philippines, and in 26 foreign countries. Twelve Regional Conferences are held in the United States each year.⁴

The LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY (COLLEGE DEPARTMENT) was established to promote education for a new social order based upon production for use and not for profit, and its program is carried out through meetings dealing with the labor movement and socialism, and through publication of studies in the field of industrial conditions and reform.

The only qualification for membership is the endorsement of the League's aims. Approximately one-half of the total membership of 7,000 is made up of students.

Income is derived from contributions, membership fees, lecture fees, and the sale of literature. The net budget of the entire organization for the fiscal year 1932 was \$49,000. This includes non-college, as well as college, work. The League for Industrial Democracy publishes *Student Outlook* (monthly) and frequent pamphlets. It maintains no international affiliations.

The LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSOCIATION conducts two activities in the field of student affairs: Model League of Nations assemblies, and a national competitive high school examination on the League of Nations.

Model League of Nations assemblies are held annually, and seven of these have a more or less continuous form of organization. Such assemblies have been conducted over a period of the last seven years. Statistics indicate that interest in this activity is increasing, and a recent assembly in the New England area was attended by approximately 350 delegates. In form and technical procedure these student assemblies follow as closely as possible the methods of League Assemblies in Geneva. Model League assemblies are not directly organized and controlled by the Association, but are spontaneous student activities; the Association, however, willingly assists in collecting pertinent data and material.

A national competitive high school examination on the League of Nations is now being given by the Association, which held its seventh annual competition in 1933. In the same year 1,365 high schools registered, and 6,765 copies of the official textbook—*A Brief History of the League of Nations*—have been purchased from the national association by the schools. Inasmuch as every registered school receives in addition one free copy of the textbook, this makes a total of 8,130 textbooks distributed in connection with the examination. The competition is open

⁴ For the list see p. 126.

to any high school in the United States, and reports submitted by teachers last year indicate that their students gave an average of twenty-seven days to the study of the subject. The first prize is a free trip to Europe; the second prize is \$50. Five additional cash prizes of \$10 each are also awarded. In addition, local prizes are offered in some cities and states. Questions in the examination are based on the text mentioned above.

The NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS is a non-partisan organization for the promotion of the responsible participation of women in government. It was organized in 1920, and consists of affiliated State Leagues. In most instances, the constitution of the State Leagues provides that members must be twenty or twenty-one years of age. In order to interest young college women in the purpose of the National League, organizations have been formed in the colleges and are known as College Leagues of Women Voters. Usually a member of the local League or a member of the faculty serves as an advisor to the group. The name of each college League consists of the name of the college plus League of Women Voters—thus, Duke University League of Women Voters. The purpose of the college Leagues is the same as that of the national League, that is, the promotion of the responsible participation of women in government. Qualifications for membership vary greatly in different institutions. No figures are available concerning the total membership, but there are at present fifty-seven College Leagues. Income is derived from membership dues, and these also vary greatly in different institutions. The college Leagues use the publications of the National League. They have no international affiliations.

The NATIONAL COUNCIL OF STUDENT CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS is the Student Division of the Y.M.C.A. The purpose of the Student Division is to serve and represent the men's Christian Associations and affiliated student groups. It promotes study groups on the campus on national, industrial, and world problems, distributes literature and carries on a campaign of international education through the World's Student Christian Federation and its publications. Members must accept the national statement of purpose. The approximate number of members at the present time is 800,000. The principal source of income is from endowment and personal contributions. The approximate budget for 1934 was \$100,000. The National Council publishes and circulates a magazine known as the *Intercollegian*. International affiliations are maintained through the World Student Christian Federation. Mention should be made of the excellent orientation and personal service work

by the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students of the Y.M.C.A. This work is under the direction of Mr. Charles D. Hurrey.

The NATIONAL STUDENT COUNCIL OF THE YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION stands for a program of interracial interests, service to foreign students, international education—with special emphasis on disarmament and contemporary political-economic questions. It seeks to develop responsibility among students and faculty for its purpose, program, and finances. To carry out its program, it promotes intercollegiate councils, regional projects, such as summer conferences for students and faculty, institutes, cabinet conferences, consultation, personnel work, and special courses in the summer schools of Union Theological Seminary and the University of Chicago. It arranges for the publication of special literature and engages speakers.

The approximate number of members at the present time is 30,000. Membership requirements for student Y.W.C.A.'s are established by the Convention of the national Y.W.C.A. The principal sources of income may be summed up as follows: 29 percent from student Y.W.C.A.'s, 5 percent from individuals and foundations, and 66 percent from the general resources of the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. The approximate budget for 1932 was \$71,165. No statement is available for the current year.

The publications of the National Student Council consist of news letters published by the regional Councils, the *Interracial News Bulletin* published quarterly at headquarters, occasional bulletins on international education, and pamphlets. The Council makes use of the *Womans Press* of the Y.W.C.A., the *Intercollegian*, and the World's Student Christian Federation magazine, the *Student World*. Its international affiliations consist of membership in the World Student Christian Federation and participation in the work of this organization through study and action on disarmament; study of the message of the Student Christian Movements; contributions to its budget, and participation in its international conferences. The student Associations are also members of the World Y.W.C.A.

The INTERNATIONAL STUDENT COMMITTEE is made up of Americans and foreign students without regard to race or creed or nationality. It tries to make available to foreign women students a variety of personal contacts and services helpful in their adjustment to life in a foreign country, and to extend the results of this work to individual Americans in their connections with foreign students and with the Committee. The

Committee also tries to make personal relationships between students and Americans valuable in international understanding by maintaining through a national committee a continued connection with foreign students who have returned to their own countries. In brief, the fundamental idea of this International Student Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association is to help foreign students as individuals to take with them when they leave America a determination to express their concern for international relations by constructive work in their own countries.

The NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION, an undergraduate student organization, was founded in 1925 to achieve a spirit of cooperation among the students of the United States and to give consideration to questions affecting student interests. It attempts to develop an intelligent student opinion on questions of national and international importance, and to foster understanding among the students of the world in the furtherance of an enduring peace. It functions independently of any political parties or religious affiliations. It issues the International Student Identity Card which serves as a letter of introduction to similar student groups in Europe; it also secures visa reductions as well as reduced fees for entrance to the museums, and reduced rates for railway and air travel.

The Federation circulates a weekly news release of six pages among the editors of college newspapers. This news release attempts to analyze the general trend of student opinion in different parts of the United States, and supplies information concerning events in university centers abroad. Fifteen minute radio broadcasts over the Columbia Broadcasting System are sponsored by the Federation; in this way prominent speakers on subjects of interest to students have been presented. Through such lecturers as Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Professor Albert Einstein, Sir Norman Angell, and Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur an effort has been made to build up a permanent listening constituency in the different university centers.

During recent years, the National Student Federation has brought to the United States annually an average of three foreign debating teams and circuited them through American colleges and universities. These groups of foreign debaters have come from Oxford, Cambridge, and Trinity College in Dublin, from Turkey, Germany, and New Zealand. American debating teams have also been sent abroad, one carefully selected team having been sent to England each year. During the winter of 1931 a German-speaking American team was sent to Germany

for a period of four months during which time it engaged in debates with representatives of leading German universities.

European tours operated on a non-profit-making basis have been arranged for small, carefully selected groups of American students during the summer vacations.⁵ An opportunity is afforded to tour members abroad to enjoy the hospitality offered by European student organizations and private families. Travel arrangements for groups of overseas students coming to the United States are also made by the Federation. During the past few years two large groups of South African students and a group of Continental students have traveled in this country under its auspices.

An information service on extra-curricula problems is maintained, and each year an annual congress of student presidents is held.

Membership is counted by colleges rather than by individuals, and any college on the accredited list approved by the American Council on Education is eligible. At the present time approximately 200 colleges hold membership in the organization. Dues are paid by member colleges at the rate of two cents a student, and the approximate budget of the Central Office for 1932 was \$15,700. The constantly changing personnel in the universities, as well as in the central office, has been of the greatest detriment to the promotion of the program of the National Student Federation. In an attempt to provide for continuity and supervision, an advisory board of twelve prominent educators and statesmen has been established. Publications of the organization include a *History and Year Book* (1932), weekly news releases, radio speeches, annual reports, and travel material at irregular intervals. The only international affiliation is a rather loose working agreement with Commission III of the Confédération Internationale des Étudiants in regard to student travel and international Student Identity Cards.

The NATIONAL STUDENT FORUM ON THE PARIS PACT was established in 1929 and is a cooperative enterprise of several peace organizations. These various organizations contribute part-time services of their staff members, and no salaries are paid. This organization works with high school students, and its activities are discussed in the section of this survey on international relations in public school education.⁶

The NATIONAL STUDENT LEAGUE is an organization of revolutionary students in the United States and represents the left-wing tendency

⁵ In December, 1933, the student travel facilities of the National Student Federation, the American Committee of International Student Service, and the Open Road, Inc., were merged.

⁶ Cf. pp. 331 f.

among student organizations. The organization was founded in New York City and has individual members in various colleges and universities. It believes that "the struggle against Yankee Imperialism must be carried on within the United States as well as in the countries of South and Central America." It is definitely committed in opposition to capitalism, and a perusal of its publications indicates that the fundamental philosophy of the organization wavers between communism and socialism.

It is impossible to determine either the number of members or the source of financial support. The League publishes the *Student Review* and it has recently undertaken to establish an intercollegiate weekly, *College News*.

The PAN AMERICAN STUDENT LEAGUE OF NEW YORK was established to coordinate the efforts of high school students and graduates for the advancement of mutual understanding among the nations of the American hemisphere. The League attempts to enlighten its members on the subject of Latin-American civilization, giving them an understanding and appreciation of its culture and ideals, and to inculcate in them a spirit of friendliness toward the people of Latin America. It also endeavors to promote education for citizenship. The League promotes the study of Spanish and attempts to vitalize the correlation between Spanish and American history. Pupils are given an opportunity to meet outstanding personalities of the Pan American movement. Chapters have been established in a large number of New York City high schools, and an effort is being made at present to project this movement on a national scale. Individual chapters hold membership in the League, and membership in the individual clubs is open to any student who is interested in the club's program of activities and purpose. The principal source of income is derived from contributions from Pan American organizations. The approximate budget for the school year 1932-33 was \$2,000. The budget for 1933-1934, without gifts from outside organizations, was only \$300. Membership in 1934 totaled 5,000. The League publishes monthly during the high school year a bulletin entitled *The Pan American Student*. The League has also distributed a book of short articles by Henry Kittredge Norton, printed for them by the *Herald Tribune*. At present the Pan American League has no international affiliations.

The WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE (Committee on Student Enrollment) holds to the central philosophy that "wars will cease when men refuse to fight." The Student Committee attempts to secure signatures for the War Resisters League's declaration, "War is a crime against humanity.

I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war." It uses student newspapers, letters, posters, and pamphlets in seeking to promote thought on the subject of war resistance. Students who sign the declaration are enrolled members and must secure ten new members in the course of the year or pay a fee of \$1.00. There are at present 2,700 student members. The principal source of income is derived from contributions by active members and a few small gifts. A considerable amount of the work is on a voluntary basis. The Committee on Student Enrollment uses the regular War Resisters League publication, a magazine entitled *The War Resister*. This student committee is affiliated with the War Resisters International.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXCHANGES

The number of fellowships existing in the United States which enable American students to study in foreign countries and foreign students to study in the United States is amazingly large. The mere enumeration and classification of such scholarships and fellowships requires two booklets of considerable size.⁷ It is impossible to determine the exact number or the exact cash value of such scholarships, inasmuch as the number awarded depends in many cases upon the income from invested funds and, therefore, varies from year to year. A number of so-called competitive fellowships in American colleges and universities open to students of all nationalities on equal basis increases this total slightly. During the year 1931-1932, 8,688 foreign students pursued their studies in the United States. Inasmuch as this summary deals primarily with scholarships, it is interesting to note that approximately 1,039 foreign students have been the recipients of fellowships and scholarships during the academic year 1932-1933. Approximately 643 American students were granted scholarships for foreign study.

Before entering into the details of international scholarship administration and distribution, it might be well to consider briefly certain general tendencies. Most organizations in the United States granting fellowships for foreign study follow the practice of making such awards only to graduate students—that is, to students having received at least their bachelor's degree. In most instances, candidates must have demonstrated their ability to do independent research work. A notable excep-

⁷ See Institute of International Education Publications, Bulletin No. 2, Twelfth Series, *Fellowships and Scholarships Open to Foreign Students for Study in the United States*, and Bulletin No. 3, Thirteenth Series, *Fellowships and Scholarships Open to American Students for Study in Foreign Countries*.

tion, however, is the Junior Year Abroad for the study of French, under the direction of the University of Delaware and of Smith College. The first group of juniors was sent from the University of Delaware in 1923, from Smith College in 1925. In 1926 the Smith College group was organized with a dean resident abroad. Since then students from other institutions have gone with the Smith College group. Certain scholarships are available which enable well-qualified undergraduates to spend their junior year abroad.

Immigration restrictions, unfavorable exchange rates, and the general world instability have contributed to decrease considerably the number of foreign students entering American colleges and universities. The lack of prestige attached to American education abroad is one of the most serious handicaps in the way of the development of productive scholarship by foreign students in this country. In many instances, foreigners are firmly convinced before matriculating in an American college or university that the standard of scholarship here is extremely low, and that, although they may be given an opportunity to observe American life and institutions, they will enjoy little opportunity for intellectual development.

Highly developed nationalism has caused certain foreign students coming to the United States to become indoctrinated with the theory that they must at all times act as representatives of their country. This tendency has prevented students from finding any common bond in scholarship such as that which characterized medieval student migrations. Then again, various American agencies dealing with foreign students in this country may justly be accused of paternalism, and until recently certain religious groups were prone to give offense to foreign students, particularly to those from the Orient, by their attempts at conversion.

International fellowships, or, more precisely, fellowships for study in foreign countries, have been founded by individuals, foundations, organizations of many kinds, and educational institutions. The value of the grants vary considerably: some are for a few hundred dollars only and are granted principally to undergraduates or recent graduates; others, such as most of those granted by the Social Science Research Council, provide somewhat more substantial sums to enable mature scholars to carry through particular research work.

THE PRINCIPAL ORGANIZATIONS GRANTING SCHOLARSHIPS OR FELLOWSHIPS TO STUDENTS OF OTHER NATIONS FOR STUDY
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1932-1933

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Number of Awards</i>
American Association of University Women.....	3
American-Scandinavian Foundation.....	23
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	1
Chinese Educational Mission.....	94
Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation, Inc.	32
The Commonwealth Fund.....	63
Institute of International Education.....	170
John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.....	13
The Rockefeller Foundation.....	203

THE PRINCIPAL ORGANIZATIONS GRANTING SCHOLARSHIPS OR FELLOWSHIPS TO AMERICANS FOR STUDY OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES, 1932-1933

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Number of Awards</i>
American Academy in Rome.....	32
American Academy of Political and Social Science.....	1
American Association of University Women.....	4
American Council of Learned Societies.....	14
American Friends Service Committee.....	4
American-Scandinavian Foundation.....	4
American School of Oriental Research.....	3
Association of American Rhodes Scholars.....	32
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.....	2
Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation, Inc.	7
Harvard-Yenching Institute.....	3
Institute of International Education.....	177
John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.....	35
The National Council on Religion in Higher Education.....	2
National Research Council.....	7
Pack (Charles Lathrop) Forest Education Board.....	1
The Rockefeller Foundation.....	2
Social Science Research Council.....	20

TRAVEL AGENCIES: EDUCATIONAL AND NON-PROFIT-MAKING

Passport statistics issued by the Department of State indicate that American travel to foreign countries reached its highest point in 1930, when 203,174 passports and renewals were issued. During 1931, this number had decreased to 163,404. During the calendar year of 1932, 153,218 passports and renewals were issued; during 1933, 106,991. Eighty-three percent of the number of applicants in 1932 and 80 percent in 1933 gave Western Europe as their destination, for while "a great many applicants inserted 'All Countries' in the space provided in applications for destination it is the opinion of the Department of State that practically all who have 'All Countries' as their destination visited Western Europe." The following chart based on Department of State statistics will indicate geographical areas visited by Americans during 1932 and 1933. It should be noted that certain persons visited more than one geographic area, with the result that the table shows an apparent duplication in percentage.

GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS VISITED BY AMERICANS, 1932 AND 1933

<i>Destination</i>	<i>Percent of Total</i>	
	<i>1932</i>	<i>1933</i>
All Countries	5.52	5.14
Eastern Europe	6.16	5.64
Near East	7.16	7.23
Far East	3.17	4.92
Australia .....	.61	1.03
Latin America, West Indies and Mexico.....	4.24	5.50
Africa	1.13	1.39
Western Europe	83.00	80.98

Of the 1933 total quoted above, 55.74 percent were native Americans, and 44.26 percent were naturalized citizens. Family affairs were given by 41.34 percent as the object of travel, while education was listed by 4.63 percent of the applicants. The occupation of student was given by 8.33 percent of those applying for passports, thus indicating that approximately 8,912 American students traveled abroad during 1933. Of those applying 5.90 percent listed their occupation as teacher. It is interesting to know that 32.98 percent of the applicants gave New York City as their permanent residence, while 8.48 percent were residents of New York State outside the City. Of the total, 7.10 percent came from California, and 6.60 percent from Massachusetts.

The large number of travel agencies purporting to be educational and

non-profit-making which have attempted to recruit tour members from the American academic world has resulted in a duplication of effort and overhead expenses, and has thoroughly confused the average American teacher or student desirous of securing travel assistance. This duplication and confusion has led, in the case of certain colleges and universities, to the elimination of all save two or three travel agents.

It is encouraging to note the decreasing number of American teachers and students traveling *en masse*, experience having demonstrated that a group of not more than fifteen or twenty is the maximum number that can be handled satisfactorily. There is also an encouraging tendency toward the establishment of national tours—that is, tours where the main itinerary remains within one country, and where opportunity is given to study language, customs, etc., of that particular area. The exigencies of competition have brought about certain overstatements in travel advertisements, and there have even been instances of subsidized tours offered at a price below the competitive level.

Considerable difficulty has been experienced where agencies have attempted to handle the technical details of travel planning as well as the supervision of the educational content of courses and seminars offered, and it has come to be generally accepted by educators that, under such an arrangement, the educational element suffers.

The vast majority of students, teachers, and professors traveling to Europe do so independently—that is, without formal affiliation with any travel agency. To date, no satisfactory agency has been established to give advice and counsel to such travelers or to put them in touch with people of similar interests in foreign countries. The International Student Identity Card issued by the National Student Federation of America, and the *Hand-Me-Down* book published by the Holland-American Line have been found to be of considerable assistance, although to manipulate the former with maximum effectiveness one should be an expert.

The following listing includes the major educational and non-profit-making travel agencies but naturally does not take into consideration the large number of private and independent groups organized by professors in different communities. Travel facilities are also offered by a number of organizations in addition to other services, but the group which follows includes only those agencies whose primary aim it is to promote foreign travel.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLES COLLEGE is the result of a five years' experiment conducted at Pocono Peoples College in Pennsylvania in accord-

ance with the peoples college idea which originated in the nineteenth century in the mind of N. F. S. Grundtvig, Danish philosopher and educator. The American Peoples College operates on a non-profit basis, and maintains offices at Oetz in the Austrian Tyrol, in New York, and in Chicago. Most of the expenses of operation are met by tuition fees, and such fees are included in the price of student tours. The balance is covered by small donations. During last summer, approximately thirty-two students studied abroad under this plan, many of them sailing in February and April, to remain for periods ranging from three months to two years. Approximately eighty-seven professional people were also enrolled as students last summer. The number of wage-earners was noticeably reduced, due to the effects of economic conditions. American leaders travel with the groups, the average size of which is from eight to ten students, the maximum number being twenty-six. Very little advertising is done through regular channels, and last year's records indicate that about one-half of the total registration was secured through the recommendation of former students. Approximately four out of every five applicants are accepted. The educational content of the program would be classified as progressive adult education. Costs are low. There are no grades, examinations, or fixed textbooks. A sincere desire to learn is the primary entrance requirement, and no diplomas or certificates of award are granted. An annual meeting, lasting from three to four days, is held each New Year's in New York City by former students. Student and travel opportunities are offered in Germany, England, Switzerland, Italy, France, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Belgium, Finland, Sweden, Spain, Russia, and the Balkan States. European arrangements in the various cities are in the hands of responsible and reputable agencies, such as the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst in Berlin, and the Austro-American Institute of Education in Vienna. The advisory committee of the college is made up of such distinguished educators as Professors John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, H. A. Overstreet, and Alvin Johnson. For those who have been watching the project with interest, it may be said that the American Peoples College is gaining steadily in prestige and popularity.

THE BUREAU OF UNIVERSITY TRAVEL is a non-profit-distributing organization incorporated under the Massachusetts law for the incorporation of charitable and educational institutions of all kinds. A small office is maintained in Paris merely as a point of contact, but carries on no educational activities. Expenses are met by receipts from tours guaranteed

by considerable reserve accumulated from the same source and in part by gifts.

In common with other travel organizations, the number of students traveling under its auspices has decreased during the past two years. The largest element in its constituency is that of teachers—both high school and college.

The work is devoted to the study of art, archæology, and history, as well as to economic and social problems, under the guidance of experts. Lectures are given in hotels and on the ground in the presence of subject matter. Working groups are limited to approximately twenty, but in emergencies this number has been increased to twenty-five. The system is also followed of carrying 100 people divided into five groups with five or six leaders representing different fields or specialities. These leaders do not confine their attention to a single group, but each takes the several groups in turn for the subject in which he is specially prepared. Groups invariably have American leaders, who are almost without exception professors in American colleges and universities. Foreign guides are never employed in an educational capacity, and are used only for such employment as is compulsory. Generally speaking, the work of the Bureau of University Travel is less specialized than was that of Dr. Thomas Alexander under the International Institute, Teachers College;⁸ it does not offer academic credit. The comments of those who have traveled under the auspices of the Bureau have, in the main, been commendatory.

CULTURAL EXPEDITIONS TO THE ORIENT concentrate on opportunities for travel in the Far East. No regular foreign representatives are maintained, and assistance, when necessary, is secured from the steamship companies or the Japanese or Chinese travel services. Ordinarily, the expenses are met by the receipts from tours. The expeditions are directed by Mr. Josef Washington Hall (Upton Close), and the secretary is Mr. James B. Pond, lecture-manager of New York. Lectures and programs are given on shipboard during the trans-Pacific trip. Native guides are employed. The Expedition has established contacts with the Chinese and Japanese Ministries of Education. During the summer of 1933, fifteen students and professional people were in the group. The average for the past six years has been seventy-five members.

The FOREIGN STUDY ASSOCIATION was organized in 1933 for the purpose of providing facilities for travel and study in university centers in Europe, and is designed to meet the requirements of teachers and stu-

⁸ Cf. pp. 415 f.

dents of French, German, English History, and Government, and of Art and Architecture. The present plan of organization indicates that, under normal conditions, it would be profit-making. The founders express the desire to make it a cooperative organization in the immediate future. Business arrangements abroad are handled by Amerop, a travel agency, and the majority of leaders and faculty members are American rather than European. An effort is being made to meet all expenses through receipts from tours. The Association is now negotiating with the National Surety Company to issue a bond which, when placed in effect, will guarantee to all registrants that expenditures of receipts will be made for the purpose advertised. The maximum number of members of any one group will be twenty-five. An effort is being made to interest primarily graduate students, young professors, and high school teachers. The future plans of the Association are somewhat in doubt.

FRIENDSHIP TOURS is an educational service for civic organizations, student groups, and women's clubs. The cost to the client includes only actual travel expenses plus the proportional part of organizational overhead not covered by commissions. A special representative is maintained in Russia during the summer season. Approximately 75 percent of expenses is covered by receipts from tours, and the remainder is covered personally by Mr. Philip Brown, Director. The principal emphasis of Friendship Tours is placed on Russian travel. Special-interest Russian tours are offered in the field of social problems, the theater, art, history, and socialized medicine, as well as general-interest groups for teachers, students, artists, and social workers. Those associated with, or sponsoring, these Russian study tours are familiar with Russian conditions.

MY FRIEND ABROAD is an agency organized, financed, and directed by Dr. Sven V. Knudsen. Dr. Knudsen maintains no permanent representative abroad, and possible deficits from operations are covered by him personally. Records indicate that Dr. Knudsen has been able to arrange for an unusual amount of hospitality in prominent European families and private homes. In the past, his groups have been composed principally of senior high school and junior college students. A rather high degree of selectivity has been maintained, and foreign comment on the composition of these tours has been very favorable. Approximately 800 boys have enjoyed these hospitality trips. Thirty were registered in April for the summer of 1934. Dr. Knudsen has issued a limited edition entitled *My Friend Abroad*, which outlines in detail previous experiences of groups under his supervision.

THE TRAVEL DEPARTMENT OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION is non-profit-making, and income from services rendered must frequently be supplemented by contributions. The prices quoted for European tours are approximately the same as those offered by other non-commercial travel agencies. Technical arrangements are made through the National Union of Students of England and Wales, and supervision of tours in most countries is in the hands of National Student Unions of countries being visited. The travel program of the Federation is confined entirely to recent graduates and to students who must be recommended by the dean of their college and the president of their student government organization. Most of the recruiting is done by the leaders of the groups, and promotional and advertising costs are kept to the minimum. Arrangements provide for groups to travel as separate units, although occasionally two or three parties may be together for a short period in London and Paris. American students who travel on National Student Federation tours secure a considerable amount of private hospitality and entertainment in European homes. Opportunity is given to members to meet authorities in the fields in which they are particularly interested, and an attempt is made to maintain a high degree of informality in all arrangements and contacts. It is the practice to use national guides who are generally students giving their services gratis. No formal chaperons accompany the groups.

During the summer of 1932, twelve students were sent abroad and a group of ten visited Russia under the joint auspices of the National Student Federation and the Open Road. In November, 1933, the Travel Department of the National Student Federation merged with the Open Road, though the essential features of each bureau were retained.

THE OPEN ROAD is a membership corporation of non-profit-making character, and the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has ruled that financial contributions made to it are tax exempt. Directors render their services gratis. A fully staffed and equipped office is maintained at Geneva and representatives are supported in Paris and Moscow. Correspondents are situated in London, Rome, and several other European centers. During the past fiscal year the Open Road earned in service fees and commissions slightly more than 50 percent of its expenses. The balance was met by contributions from individuals. In the main the foreign representatives of the Open Road are individuals and organizations interested in international cultural relationships. Tours arranged by the Open Road fall naturally into two categories; those which are of general educative value and give an opportunity for acquaintance

with representative nationals, and those which feature a particular personal interest uniting the members of the groups. During the summer of 1932 the Open Road served 153 college students and 180 professional people. The average group is limited to ten, and generally does not exceed seven. In the majority of cases groups travel under American leadership, leaders being chosen on the basis of academic standing, knowledge of Europe and general personal qualifications. Each group has a native guide and usually guides employed are not professional. An attempt is always made to secure a guide who is a specialist in the particular field of interest of the given group. Recruiting is done through the usual publicity channels and in many cases through the organizations that have requested services of the Open Road. Every effort has been made to establish a high degree of selectivity commensurate with sound business procedure. The officers of the Open Road have been active in all efforts to combine and coordinate existing student travel agencies. The Open Road has devoted considerable time to the building up of Special Interest Itineraries, and progress has been made in the establishment of itineraries sufficiently elastic to conform with the developing interests and desires of the groups en route. The Open Road has established a reputation for its travel activities in Russia and is the only travel organization to maintain representatives in the Soviet Union from season to season.

The 1933 summer study plan under the INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF TEACHERS COLLEGE offered a number of field courses in European education.⁹ The purpose of these courses has been to aid American teachers in the development of a clear, authoritative understanding of the objective and organization of foreign school systems. University credit has been granted, if desired, to members of the field courses who satisfactorily complete the requirements of the study groups in which they are enrolled. Courses for the summer of 1933 were offered in German education, science, and science education in Germany, physical education in Germany, French education, and English education. Under the direction of Dr. Thomas Alexander, the summer travel and study opportunities have come to be highly regarded. The enterprise has been strictly non-profit-making, and the directors are members of the faculty of Teachers College. The foreign program has been supervised by the Central Institute for Education and Instruction in Berlin. The requirements include reading, attendance at lectures, discussions, field work, and writing of term papers. Sixty-eight students were taken abroad under this plan in

⁹ The Institute was endowed for two years.

1933. Both American leaders and foreign guides are provided, and the size of the groups has generally averaged between ten and fifteen.

SUMMER SCHOOLS IN EUROPE

The rapidly increasing number of summer schools in European countries during the last five years has resulted in increased attendance by American students. The list of summer schools as compiled by the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations in their pamphlet, *Holiday Courses in Europe*, shows that in 1929 there were 104 summer schools in twelve European countries. By the summer of 1932, this number had been increased to 135 summer schools located in seventeen European countries, while the 1933 figures give a total of 155 summer schools.

Statistics compiled by the Institute of International Education from reports from eighty-five European summer schools indicate that during 1931 the total number of persons attending European summer schools was 14,154. Of that number, 2,569 were Americans. During 1932, the total number in attendance was approximately 12,516, and the American enrolment was 2,505. Germany, France, and England lead with the largest number of summer schools, and Italy, Spain, and Switzerland follow, but in attendance numbers France leads with a total attendance during 1932 of 3,741, of whom 1,146 were American students and teachers. Great Britain comes next with a total attendance of 3,297, but only 199 Americans, while Germany, with a total of only 1,504, has 356 Americans. Switzerland follows with a total attendance of 965, followed by Austria with her total of 816. However, Austria leads with the total number of 374 Americans, while Switzerland has but 157 Americans. Italy shows a total of 796, and Spain 629. Both of these countries had 100 American visitors. The Netherlands and Denmark lead the less-visited countries with about thirty Americans each.

The result of the increased interest on the part of American students and educators in foreign summer sessions is obvious. It is unfortunate, however, that in many instances summer schools and seminars in foreign countries have been used by certain travel agencies as a means of recruiting tours without reference to the qualifications of persons so recruited. In many cases, commercial travel agencies have been designated information centers for reputable and well-established European summer schools. This practice has undoubtedly resulted in lowering the prestige of these institutions of learning in the eyes of American educators.

The granting of credits by American colleges and universities for work done in foreign summer schools has been the source of considerable confusion. The need undoubtedly exists for a careful evaluation of the educational content of courses offered by foreign summer schools in order that their academic standing may be determined, and there can be little question that certain commercial travel agencies have established so-called seminars mainly to secure increased patronage for their tours. The Institute of International Education disseminates information concerning courses and matriculation requirements for the majority of recognized European summer sessions. The above-mentioned publication entitled *Holiday Courses in Europe*, published by the League of Nations Institute of Intellectual Cooperation and distributed by the World Peace Foundation, gives the most authentic listing of opportunities for summer students in Europe.

Following the diplomatic recognition of Russia comes an announcement of the first session of a six-week summer course at Moscow University. It is for English and American students and teachers, and deals with such varied subjects as art and literature, education, social background, and political economics of the Soviet Union. The Anglo-American Institute of the first Moscow University, which is responsible for these courses, is collaborating with the Institute of International Education. During the summer of 1934 approximately 300 American students and teachers attended the 1934 summer school at the Moscow University.

Statistics indicate that the majority of Americans desiring to study abroad during the summer, do so in Europe. However, during the summer of 1933, ninety Americans pursued courses at the Seminar in Mexico held in Mexico City under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America. The previous year, 371 Americans attended the University of Mexico, and forty-two, the University of Porto Rico. There were representatives from the twenty-one states at the University of Hawaii.

During the past five years a number of so-called seminars have been established by American agencies and individuals. Perhaps the best-known of these seminars are represented by those under the direction of Dr. Sherwood Eddy.

Careful scrutiny of the entire field of summer study abroad would seem to indicate that the actual routine of registration and instruction at these institutions should be divorced as far as possible from technical travel arrangements of those in attendance at courses.

418 EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It should be noted that summer sessions directed and controlled by Americans in foreign countries and where the language of instruction is English, are in many instances severely criticized by professors of Romance languages in the United States.

ATTENDANCE AT SUMMER SCHOOLS IN EUROPE, 1931-1932

Country	<i>No. of Summer Schools (L. of N.) Figures</i>		<i>No. of Schools Reporting</i>		<i>Total Attendance</i>		<i>Americans Attending</i>	
	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932	1931	1932
Austria	5	4	4	4	660	816	259	374
Belgium	3	3	0	0	...	...	...	...
Czechoslovakia . .	1	1	1	1	19	18	9	9
Denmark	2	2	1	1	130	150	20	30
France	24	25	20	20	5,081	3,741	1,275	1,146
Germany	19	32	17	17	1,901	1,504	337	356
Great Britain . . .	22	20	18	18	3,211	3,297	321	199
Hungary	1	1	0	0	...	...	...	...
Italy	9	12	6	6	512	796	64	100
Jugoslavia	2	3	1	1	90	120	...	...
Netherlands . . .	3	4	1	1	415	394	30	31
Poland	1	2	1	1	20	31	0	2
Portugal	1	1	0	0	...	...	...	...
Rumania	3	1	0	0	...	...	...	...
Spain	10	12	7	7	569	629	92	100
Switzerland . . .	13	11	7	7	1,459	965	161	157
Sweden	1	1	1	1	87	55	1	1
Total	120	135	85	85	14,154	12,516	2,569	2,505

LEAGUE OF NATIONS "HOLIDAY COURSES" LIST, 1929-1933

Country	<i>Number of Schools</i>				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Austria	3	6	5	4	5
Belgium	3	2	3	3	3
Czechoslovakia . .	..	..	1	1	2
Denmark	2	3	2	2	2
France	22	23	24	25	27
Germany	21	25	19	32	30
Great Britain . . .	21	20	22	20	32

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of Schools</i>				
	<i>1929</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1933</i>
Hungary	1	1	1	1	1
Italy	9	11	9	12	15
Jugoslavia .....	..	2	2	3	3
Netherlands	2	3	3	4	3
Poland .....	..	..	1	2	1
Portugal	1	1	1	1	0
Rumania .....	..	..	3	1	1
Spain	9	10	10	12	13
Sweden .....	..	..	..	1	2
Switzerland	10	10	13	11	15
Ireland .....	..	1	..	..	..
Total number of schools	104	118	119	135	155

EXPANSION OF EUROPEAN SUMMER SCHOOLS

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Summer Schools</i>	<i>Number of Countries</i>
1929	104	12
1930	118	14
1931	119	16
1932	135	17
1933	155	16

ATTENDANCE AT SUMMER SCHOOLS IN LATIN AMERICA AND HAWAII,
1931-1932

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number of Summer Schools</i>		<i>Total Attendance at Summer Schools</i>		<i>Total Number of Americans Attending</i>	
	<i>1931</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>1932</i>
Mexico	2	3	488	581	432	371
Porto Rico ..	1	1	1,240	1,490	36	42
Hawaii	1	1	594	973	Not known how many from U. S.	72 from 21 States, Alaska, Philippines, China, and Japan

EXCHANGE OF PROFESSORS AND LECTURERS

Existing conditions have greatly reduced both the number of foreign professors and lecturers visiting the United States and those sent abroad by various American organizations. There is also evident a marked

change in the type of lecture in demand. In America, at least, the formal platform lecture is becoming less and less popular, with a decided trend in favor of discussions and symposiums following the presentation of the address. There is a crying need for cooperative activity on the part of civic organizations, forums, and similar bodies engaging foreign lecturers. Concerted action on their part would not only improve the caliber of the lectures presented to American audiences, but would tend to reduce considerably the fees now charged by commercial lecture agencies. At the present time, it is practically impossible for an American professor to undertake a lecture tour in any foreign country and receive remuneration comparable to that of Europeans lecturing in the United States.

THE PRINCIPAL NON-COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BRINGING LECTURERS TO
THIS COUNTRY ¹⁰

Adult Education Association
 American Hungarian Foundation
 American Institute for Persian Art and Archæology
 American Philological Association
 Archæological Institute of America
 Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation
 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
 China Institute in America
 College Art Association
 Commission for Relief in Belgium Educational Foundation
 Fédération de l'Alliance Française aux Etats-Unis et au Canada
 Foreign Policy Association
 French Institute in the United States
 Institute of International Education
 Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos
 Italy America Society
 Kosciuszko Foundation
 League of Nations Association
 Linguistic Institute of America
 Lowell Institute
 National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association
 National Student Federation of America
 Students International Union

A catalogue survey indicates that the colleges and universities listed on the following pages may be considered as having the principal lecture foundations, which frequently invite guest lecturers from abroad.

¹⁰ Addresses in the *Index-Directory*.

- Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts: Henry Ward Beecher Lectures, Clyde Fitch Lectures, John Woodruff Simpson Lectureship, Anson D. Morse Foundation.
- Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin: Porter Missionary Lectures, George Creiner Schneider Lectureship.
- Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine: Tallman Fund, Annie Talbot Cole Lectureship, Mayhew Lectureship, John Warren Achorn Lectureship, Fund for Institutes held biennially.
- Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island: Colliver Fund, Appleton Lectureships, Mandeville Lectureship, Marshall Woods Lectureship.
- Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Mary Flexner Lectureship Fund, Ann Elizabeth Sheble Lecture Fund, Mallory Whiting Webster Lecture Fund, Horace White Classical Lectureship, Anna Howard Shaw Foundation.
- University of Buffalo, Buffalo, New York: Fenton Foundation, Harrington Lectures.
- University of California, Berkeley, California: Hitchcock Lectures, Sather Lectures.
- The University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois: William Vaughn Moody Lectures, Haskell Lectureship of Comparative Religion, Barrows Lectureship, Norman Wait Harris Lectures, Nathaniel Colver Lectures, Rosenberger Lectures, Emily Talbot Lectures.
- The College of the City of New York, New York, New York: The Class of 1872 Lecture Fund.
- College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York, New York: Cartwright Lectureship.
- Colorado College, Colorado Springs, Colorado: Marie A. Sahm Memorial Lectureship.
- Columbia University, New York, New York: Julius Rosenwald Fund, Beer Lectures, Blumenthal Lectureship, Carpentier Lectureship, Chandler Lectures, Hewitt Lectures, Jessup Lectureship.
- Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut: The Joseph Henry Selden Memorial Lectureship.
- Cornell University, Ithaca, New York: Frank Irvine Lectureship, The Jacob H. Schiff Foundation, Goldwin Smith Lectureship, The Dean Sage Sermon Fund, George Fisher Baker Lectureship, Messenger Lectures.
- Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire: Guernsey Centre Moore Foundation.
- University of Denver, Denver, Colorado: Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences.
- De Pauw University, Greencastle, Indiana: Beamer Lectures, Matthew Simpson Lectures, Mendenhall Lectures.
- Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania: James Henry Morgan Lectureship Fund.

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina: The Avera Bible Lectures, The John McTyeire Flowers Lectures.

Emory University, Emory, Georgia: Quillian Lectures, The Sam P. Jones Lectureship, The William Wallace Duncan Lectureship, The A. J. Jerrell Lectureship.

Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky: Danford Thomas Memorial Lecture Foundation.

Georgetown University, Washington, District of Columbia: Kober Lectureship.

University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia: Barrow Foundation.

Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Struckenberg Lectureship, Bell Lectureship.

Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland: The Laura Graham Cooper Lecture Fund, The Mamie Hooper Smith Lecture Fund, The Lilian Welsh Lectureship Fund, The Elsie DeLamarter Dill Lecture Fund, The Elmore B. Jeffery Fund, The Baltimore Association for the Promotion of the University Education of Women Lectures.

Hamilton College, Clinton, New York: Meyers Lectures, Wood Lectures.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Cutter Lectures, Durham Lectures, Medical Ethics Lecture Fund, Godkin Foundation, Hewett Lectures.

Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania: Haverford Library Lectures, Thomas Shipley Lectures.

University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois: Adolph Gehrman Lectureship, Charles S. Bacon Lectureship, Medical History Lectures.

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland: DeLamar Lectures, Dohme Lectures, Herter Lectures, Thayer Lectures, Turnbull Foundation, Schouler Foundation.

Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio: Larwill Lectureship, Bedell Lectureship.

University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky: J. B. Sax Foundation.

Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Edward Douglas White Foundation.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Sedgwick Memorial Lectureship.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan: The William W. Cook Foundation.

Mount Union College, Alliance, Ohio: Carr Lectures.

New York Bellevue Medical College, New York, New York: Herter Lectures.

New York State College for Teachers, Albany, New York: James Sullivan Lecture.

New York University, New York, New York: Charles F. Deems Lectureship, James Arthur Foundation, James Stokes Lectureship, Don R. Mellett Lectureship, Anson G. Phelps Lectureship.

- University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The John Calvin McNair Lectures, The Weil Lectures.
- Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois: Norman Wait Harris Foundation, John C. Shaffer Foundation, Mayo Lectures, Rosenthal Foundation, Charles Clarence Linthicum Foundation, William A. Vawter Foundation.
- Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio: Charles Beebe Martin Lectureship.
- Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio: Merrick Lectures, The McDowell Lectures, The Pontius Lectureship, The Paul E. Williams Endowment Fund.
- University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Boardman Lectures in Christian Ethics.
- The College of Physicians, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Hatfield Lectures, Mutter Lectureship, Packard Lectureship, Newbold Lectureship.
- University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation.
- Pomona College, Claremont, California: The Joseph H. Johnson Foundation, Henry D. Porter Foundation, Clark Foundation.
- Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nuxen Lectureship.
- Reed College, Portland, Oregon: George Goetz Wolfe Foundation, Richard F. Scholz Foundation.
- Rice Institute, Houston, Texas: Sharp Lectureship, Godwin Lectureship, Anonymous Lectureship on Music.
- The University of Richmond, Richmond, Virginia: The Thomas Museum Lecture Endowment, The Jacob Billikopf Lectures.
- The University of Rochester, Rochester, New York: The Jesse L. Rosenberger Lectures, The James G. Cutler Lectures.
- Stanford University, Palo Alto, California: Lane Lectureship, Raymond Fred West Memorial Lectures.
- Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania: Cooper Foundation.
- Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York: Julius and Rosa Sachs Endowment Fund.
- Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut: Moore Lectureship Foundation.
- Union College, Schenectady, New York: Spencer Foundation, Day Foundation, Edgar T. Brackett Memorial Lectures.
- Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York: Matthew Vassar Lecture Fund, Ellen H. Richards Memorial Fund, Sharpe Memorial Fund.
- University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Barbour-Page Foundation, White Law Lectures Foundation, Whitehead Lectures.
- Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana: John N. Mills Lectureship.
- University of Washington, Seattle, Washington: Ames Foundation.
- Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut: The George Slocum Bennett Lectureship Fund.
- Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio: McBride Lecture Fund, Hanna Lectures, Alpha Omega Alpha Lectures.

Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts: The Lucy Larcom Lectureship, Ann E. Carter Lectureship, The Annie Austin Emerson Lectureship, The Annie Talbot Cole Memorial Lectureship.

The College of Wooster, Wooster, Ohio: The Class of 1917 Lecture Fund, The Class of 1932 Institute Fund.

Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut: Bromley Foundation, Sherrill Foundation, Trowbridge Lectureship, Block Foundation, Cowles Foundation, The Lyman Beecher Lectures, The Francis Bergen Lectures, The Dodge Lectures, The Harvard Lectures, The Daniel S. Lamont Memorial Lectureship, Silliman Memorial Lectures, Dwight H. Terry Lectureship, The Ralph Hill Thomas Memorial Lectureship, The Stanley Woodward Lectures, Lee DeForest Lectures, Divinity School Alumni Lectures, Yale Italian Society Lectures, Chester S. Lyman Lectures, Phi Beta Kappa Lectures, The Shaffer Lectures, Sigma Xi Lectures, William L. Stores Lectures, Nathaniel W. Taylor Lectures, Twentieth Engineer's Memorial Lectures.

The following list may be said to include the principal chairs of professorships established and financed by Americans in foreign universities.

Carnegie Endowment Visiting Professors: a varying number of distinguished professors are invited each year by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace to visit different parts of the world. They interpret their own country to the other countries visited by lecturers in university class rooms and before civic organizations, as well as by personal contacts with business and professional men and women, governmental officials and others. Under this plan three American professors were in England for the academic year of 1932-1933, and one American professor was in Vienna for the same period.

In addition to these visiting professorships, the Carnegie Endowment maintains the following:

Chaire Carnegie, established by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in cooperation with the University of Paris.

Carnegie Professorship of International Relations at the Hochschule für Politik in Berlin, established in 1927 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Other endowments maintaining professorships in Europe are:

Roosevelt Professorship at the University of Berlin, originally established in 1906 by Mr. James Speyer; interrupted by the War; reestablished in 1931, now maintained by Columbia University.

Harvard-University of Paris Exchange Professorship (formerly the James

Hazen Hyde Exchange Professorship between Harvard and the University of Paris). The foundation for this exchange was made by James Hazen Hyde and has since been continued by Harvard University.

Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford, established in 1929 by Mr. George Eastman. The visiting American professorship selected by the Association of American Rhodes Scholars Committee of Selection, of which Mr. Frank Aydelotte is chairman. The professor is attached to Balliol College. The tenure of the professorship is from one to five years. The incumbent for 1933-1934 was Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard Law School.

Commonwealth Fund Professorship of American History at the University of London, established by a committee of which the late Major George Haven Putnam was chairman, organized in 1927. The raising of the necessary funds was completed in 1930 by a contribution made by the Commonwealth Fund. The present holder is Professor H. Hale Bellot.

Professorship of Political Science at Cambridge University, endowed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation in 1927.

Chair of Literature and Civilization of the United States at the Sorbonne, partially endowed by the late Mr. Lee Kohns of New York in 1927. Professor Cestre has occupied this chair since its foundation.

Various other organizations finance lecture tours by prominent Americans in foreign universities. Through the American University Union of London, the Institute of International Education conducts a series of week-end lectures by American professors in British universities. American professors visiting, or spending a portion of their sabbatical year in, England are invited by the American University Union to spend a week-end in a British university and to give one or more informal lectures. It has been estimated that, during 1932-1933, more than 200 American professors spent their sabbatical years in Europe.

Impressive as these figures are, they are more than matched, so far as actual academic service is concerned, by those of European professors in American universities. Figures compiled by the Institute of International Education based on information supplied by the registrars of American universities and colleges indicate that during the academic year 1932-1933 seventy-seven foreign professors were invited to lecture for one term or longer in American universities. Of these, six came from Germany; five each, from England and France; four, from Italy; two each, from Czechoslovakia and Belgium; and one each, from China and Denmark.

GERMAN SCHOLARS IN AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS. The dismissal by the National Socialist government of approximately 1,000 German scholars early in 1933 led to the establishment of the University in

Exile at the New School for Social Research in New York City. This name was subsequently changed from the University in Exile to Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science. It is proposed that this faculty composed of fourteen German refugees shall become a permanent institution, and it may at a later date include nationalities other than German.

The Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars was established by a representative committee of American educators under the chairmanship of President Livingston Farrand of Cornell University. This Committee, with offices at the Institute of International Education, placed during the academic year 1933-1934 approximately fifty German scholars as honorary professors in various American institutions. The majority of these professorships are for a period of two years, and funds with which to invite German scholars were provided in most instances jointly by the Emergency Committee and the Rockefeller Foundation from moneys which could not in any case have been made available for the support of unemployed American scholars. In addition to appointments made through the agency of the New School for Social Research and the Emergency Committee, approximately sixteen German scholars have been called to American institutions.

EUROPEAN INFORMATION CENTERS

GENEVA. In addition to the opportunities for research and study which the League of Nations itself presents, its establishment at Geneva has made that city the center for a great deal of international activity and study. More than thirty international bodies now have their headquarters there, some of them representing national organizations in the different countries, which have to do with the varied interests of the League of Nations and the International Labor Office.

Almost from the foundation of the League, the League of Nations Association has maintained offices or representatives in Geneva to help American visitors orient themselves with reference to the structure and functioning of the League. During the summer vacation, and especially at the time of the meeting of the Assembly, when hundreds of American visitors come to Geneva, there has also been maintained an American Committee designed to assist them. In recent years the work of this Committee has been carried on in collaboration with the office of the League of Nations Association. The need for a permanent center for securing accurate information led, however, some four years ago to the foundation of the Geneva Research Center. Organized originally in con-

nection with the League of Nations Association, it is now an independent organization. The Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace share equally in its financial support. The Center has a small staff under Mr. Malcolm Davis, as director, and publishes a monthly summary of events in Geneva and a series of special studies on various international questions. The greater part of these studies are written by Americans, some of whom have been on the staff of the Graduate Institute of International Studies, the directors of which, Professors William Rappard and Paul Mantoux, have been uniformly helpful to American students. The Graduate Institute of International Studies, itself, is the recipient of annual grants from the Rockefeller Foundation.

While the Library of the League of Nations offers inducement to researchers, the stimulus of instruction is not lacking during the summer months, when a number of special summer schools are planned for visitors. One of the most scholarly of these, the Geneva School of International Studies, under the direction of Professor A. E. Zimmern of Oxford, is a six-week session and has sections for graduate and undergraduate students from various countries. For shorter periods of study, mention should be made of the two-week summer school, with sections in English, French, and German, especially designed for teachers and normal school students, but open to anybody, under the auspices of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; of the Geneva Institute of International Relations, maintained for five days jointly by the American League of Nations Association and the British League of Nations Union; and also of the two-week summer course for journalists, organized in 1934 by International Student Service. There are a number of other organizations¹¹ in Geneva maintained in whole or in part by American funds, such as the Students International Union, but the need has long been felt for a systematizing and reorganization of these agencies to prevent dissipation of energy. It would however be a grave mistake if those institutions dependent upon American funds were segregated instead of being articulated more and more with the intellectual community that is taking shape in Geneva.

¹¹ An example of an international summer school in Geneva of a more specialized character is that of the three-month Scandinavian Workers School, maintained partly by subventions from Scandinavian Governments and partly by the generosity of various Scandinavian Citizens attached to the League, International Labor Office and other organizations in Geneva, for the purpose of developing international understanding in the outlook of young workers. While it is hoped that this school may some day be extended to cover American workers, instruction at present is given only in the Scandinavian language.

The International Consultative Group is an informal unofficial conference body spontaneously established in Geneva in July, 1932, and consisting of eight different organizations, six of an international character, and two national, of which the American Interorganization Council is one. Mr. Malcolm W. Davis of the American organization is chairman. This group was formed on lines of free and equal association and serves as a sort of clearing house for information and common action, and through its organizations represents the voice of many millions favoring disarmament and international cooperation. The Consultative Group meets weekly when League and conference meetings are in session, and otherwise from time to time according to the international problems confronting Geneva.

The American Interorganization Council on Disarmament is a branch council in Geneva of the nation-wide Interorganization Council (National Peace Conference) in the United States. The Geneva group was founded in February, 1932, when some twenty-six representatives of associations and groups met to discuss the problems facing the Disarmament Conference and what American organizations might do to further the peace program. Its meetings are held every week or two, depending on activities in Geneva, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Laura Puffer Morgan of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Its function is to keep the New York Council informed on the Disarmament situation as seen from Geneva and to provide a forum and information exchange center for representatives of United States organizations who are in Geneva.

PARIS. The center for American students visiting Paris is the building of the European center of the Carnegie Endowment at 173 Boulevard St. Germain, where are housed both the Carnegie Endowment offices and the American University Union. The latter, under the direction of Dr. Horatio S. Krans, is the normal center of information for the many hundreds of American students and professors visiting not only France, but other parts of Europe. The Carnegie Endowment, under the direction of Dr. Earle B. Babcock, formerly Dean of the Graduate School of New York University, in addition to its support of international activities throughout Europe, maintains at the Paris Center an Institute of International Relations which is affiliated with the University of Paris, and at which foreign professors give courses on the problems of their own countries throughout the academic year. The Library of the Endowment, while limited in size, is perhaps the most useful ready reference library in international relations to be found in Paris.

In addition, two important institutions concerned with research in international relations have been recipients of American funds. The Institut International de Droit Public, which was organized to promote scientific work in the fields of public law and political science, conducts a program of simultaneous investigation in selected countries of important problems in public law. It issues a yearbook containing translations of the national laws and rulings of all important countries in so far as they are of interest to students of public law. Professor Nicolas Politis is the director.

The second is unique; it is the Commission for Coordination of French Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations. S. Charl  ty, Rector of the University of Paris, is honorary chairman, and Louis Eisenmann, Professor at the Faculty of Letters, is chairman. Seven conferences have been held: Berlin (1928), London (1929), Paris (1930), Copenhagen (1931), Milan (1932), London (1933), and London (1934). The Commission was a project of the Social Science Research Council and was originated as part of their program for the better coordination of research. The Commission for Coordination of French Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations works in close cooperation with the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation,¹² also located in Paris.

LONDON. American students of international relations, if engaged upon research, tend to concentrate in London rather than to live at either Oxford or Cambridge Universities, although both universities have developed in recent years an interest in this subject.¹³ The economic, as well as the political, center of the Empire makes London, along with Geneva, the most stimulating center for the American visitor. In the academic field, mention should be made not only of the London School of Economics, but also of the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London, which, from its foundation at the close of the War, and under the directorship of Professor A. F. Pollard, has emphasized Anglo-American cooperation and has established important conferences of American and British historians. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, at Chatham House, St. James's Square, also maintains a library which is open to students of international affairs of any nationality. The Royal Institute is the recipient of an annual gift from the Rockefeller Foundation.

The American University Union also maintains a branch in London,

¹² Cf. pp. 447 f.

¹³ The reader is referred for fuller details to S. H. Bailey, *International Studies in Great Britain*. Oxford University Press, 1933.

1 Gordon Square, under the directorship of Dr. Willard Connely. Among other activities it arranges week-end lectures for visiting American scholars who are invited to speak in one of the newer universities, spending the rest of the week-end in informal discussions.

BERLIN. In view of recent political events in Germany it is difficult to characterize the situation in Berlin, but the Amerika Institut, housed in the Library of the University of Berlin, remains as before a center of information for American scholars and of the distribution throughout Germany of American publications.

The Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, designated by the Minister of Culture and Propaganda as the German agency to conduct students and professional exchanges with foreign countries, supplies information concerning summer courses, research centers, etc. The director is Dr. Adolf Morsbach.

The Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft, the Committee for Research in International Relations, is still functioning under the direction of Dr. Schmidt-Ott, according to report dated March 6, 1934.

VIENNA. In spite of its political misfortunes, Vienna remains an outstanding center for the study of international relations, especially in Southeastern Europe. Since the War, an American-Austrian Institute has been created by Dr. Paul Dengler, which performs in a more limited way the same kind of service as the Amerika Institut in Berlin.

PRAGUE. At Prague, the effort to found an American-Czech Institute has not been very successful as yet, but owing to the interest of President Thomas G. Masaryk in the social sciences, important collections of material are being prepared which promise to make Prague an important center in the future. There is also the Social Science Research Institute of the Czechoslovakian Republic, supported by funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, which serves in an advisory capacity to the Ministry of Social Welfare and as a center for research in the social sciences. It has a good reference library, archives, and a bibliography of literature in sociology and labor, and publishes in Czech with summaries in French, German, or English, a journal with the title *Social Problems* (translated). Public lectures are given by prominent scholars of Czechoslovakia and other European countries. The director is Dr. Lev Winter.

LWOW, POLAND. The Institute of Constitutional and International Law of the John Casimir University has had a research program in international law and relations and political science. Recently the Institute has been transformed into a special Division of Diplomatic and

International Studies at the University of Lwow, with Professor Ludwig Ehrlich as director.

BUCHAREST. The Institutul Social Roman, at Bucharest, under the direction of Dr. D. Gusti, carries on investigations of a highly scientific character in the social history of border areas such as Transylvania, a field presenting great possibilities for future research in one of the main problems of international relations.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation has done much to open up Northern European history to American students. There is, however, as Professor W. C. Westergaard has shown, an unexplored wealth of material dealing with the history of Baltic commerce and commercial cities which has a direct bearing upon such crucial problems as those of Danzig in its relation to Germany and Poland.

In 1931 an effort was made by the Director of the Program of Research in International Relations of the Social Science Research Council to set up a purely unofficial organization of research in various centers in Eastern and Central Europe planned on the general lines of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Considerable support for this plan was found in Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Roumania. Funds, however, were not forthcoming for the realization of this project as a whole.

The plan was based upon the general principle that in most of this region the analysis of social data had not kept pace with the interest in politics, especially as stimulated by the rise of nationalism in the post-War period. In border areas, such as Transylvania and the German Polish frontier, an outstanding need was a survey by sociologists of the folk ways of the inhabitants with reference to neighbors of a different race or nationality. This subject has been undertaken by the Sociological Institute of the University of Poznan under the direction of Professor Florian Znaniecki with Professor William J. Rose of Dartmouth College as field investigator and Professor Theodore Abel of Columbia University as a member of the Committee of Direction. The Hochschule für Politik had plans for investigations on the German side of the frontier, but these have been changed owing to recent developments in Germany. The support given by the Rockefeller Foundation to the Institutul Roman under the direction of Dr. D. Gusti might result in similar developments in Transylvania if cooperation were to be developed from the Hungarian side.

PART FIVE

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
AND STUDY AND RESEARCH
IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER XVII

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND RESEARCH

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEAGUE

It is fitting that this Survey should, at its close, carry us to Geneva; for, however far-reaching the study of international relations in different areas, as, for instance, in the Pacific or in Europe itself, the one best coordinating center, from which the problems of the present and future may be viewed entire, is the seat of the League of Nations. Prior to the World War, the great capitals of Europe—London, Paris, or Berlin—were the places to which the student turned for the study of diplomacy or of international business. While these centers for study of national politics in the foreign field are still as much frequented as in the past, or even more, and in the post-War years have had added to them Washington, yet none of them now equals the opportunity which Geneva presents to see the structural development and the major issues of international relations.

At the end of the preceding chapter, mention has been made of the organizations, supported privately or semi-officially, which have grown up around the League of Nations; but the League itself, from the very nature of its work, is obliged to engage in researches dealing with all sorts of questions which may in any way affect the relations of nations to each other. This involves the use of expert knowledge, not only in the outstanding questions of war and peace, but in the day-to-day developments in such matters as finance and economics, transit and communications, and in the observation of those movements of public opinion which are not limited to any one country. The League provides for investigation and research in two ways: first, through the Secretariat which has from the foundation of the League been composed of men highly qualified to deal with intricate and far-reaching problems of international relations, and, in the second place, by special Commissions of technicians appointed from time to time as need arises. These activities of the League are not sufficiently known except among those interested in the solution of special problems. More and more, however, they have built up, alongside the political organization, a League of Research,

a federation of the world of a kind undreamed of by those who think of international organization as a mere embodiment of diplomacy. It is a superficial view of world affairs which regards the settlement of disputes between nations as but the business of a few sessions of Council or Assembly. They involve much more than this; the analysis of the problems by competent jurists, economists or engineers who in turn may call upon the services of other experts and specialists to ensure the restatement of the questions in terms of reality, before public opinion in the countries concerned can be brought to support reasonable adjustments. Thus, while the League does not govern, it must be adequately supplied with the facts on which governments act, and this not only for the problems which have already arisen, but for those which seem likely to arise in the field of international relations.

While the governments of States are more and more called upon to deal with their problems in these terms of realistic analysis, the officials of the League and its Commissions have the added problem of studying the pertinence of these functions of the League itself. In an institution which has no direct precedent to guide it, they must create traditions and justify them by the services rendered to the cause of international understanding. This has been one of the great achievements of the League, which has been growingly appreciated in the United States.

Indeed, as has been pointed out many times, the United States has both officially and unofficially been represented in most of the non-political activities of the League. A survey of the extent of this participation has been prepared by the Geneva Research Center.¹ In a considerable number of cases the American representation has been official and the extent of this as set forth in statements of the Department of State ("Conference Series")² shows a wide scope of technical international cooperation called forth by the mere fact of the League's existence, whether the participants are members of it or not. The unofficial cooperation is equally important in the exploration of problems before they reach the stage of negotiations. Some indications of this are given below.

The structure of the League corresponds in general to the chief functions assigned it in the Covenant. It is but natural, therefore, that the

¹ It has appeared annually since 1931 in the "Geneva Studies"; the precise title is: *The United States and the League of Nations*.

² The full title is: *American Delegations to International Conferences, Congresses and Expositions, on International Institutions and Commissions*. It is compiled in the Department of State, Division of Protocol and Conferences, for the year ending June 30, 1933; it is "Conference Series," No. 17.

Political Section should be regarded as of outstanding importance. It deals in the first instance with current problems brought to the attention of the League by the action of governments and involving diplomatic negotiations. It is the organ of the League most directly concerned with the preparation of the material which normally goes before the Council or Assembly. When, however, these questions involve technical problems they are routed to the pertinent technical organ of the League. For those major political controversies which governments are unwilling to submit to purely technical commissions because they involve questions of national interest upon which only governments can pronounce, the political machinery of the League provides for, in addition to the Council and the Political Committee of the Assembly (Third Committee), special fact-finding commissions to investigate the action of nations in dispute by the study of what has happened in the area of conflict. The best-known of these commissions in recent years is the Lytton Commission in the Sino-Japanese dispute over the action of Japan in Manchuria and Shanghai, but the same method was followed in other instances, such as the Greek-Bulgar Frontier Dispute of 1925, the question of Memel between Poland and Lithuania, and in a number of other cases. In this way it may be said that the method pursued in the more technical sections of the League is also employed in that which deals with its more critical problems. Moreover, as these reports are in almost every instance immediately made public, the student of international relations is supplied with a documentation in the current diplomatic history of the League which is lacking in those other instances when nations deal directly with each other and do not wholly share with the world the terms of settlement.

From the standpoint of the political sciences, however, the most important development in the major activities of the League is the way in which these ancillary organs of investigation are used by the Council and Assembly. By systematizing the conference method the League has introduced a revolution in diplomacy. Through their contact with each other the heads of foreign offices have to a greater degree than ever before acquired an international standpoint. They now tend to lead, rather than to oppose, liberal foreign policies and would frequently go farther in the acceptance of international obligations but for the opposition of nationalistic elements at home. But conference must do more than change attitudes. It must also provide programs for policy. These cannot be improvised in matters so complicated as the major issues of international politics. They have to be prepared by an international

civil service and this is where the Secretariat of the League has played so important a part in the development of the conference technique. It is a technique, however, which still offers much room for improvement. The great Powers are restive over the interference by the smaller powers in matters they would prefer to settle by themselves. The smaller powers, on the other hand, are determined not to submit to a return of the Concert of Europe in which they would have to accept a status of inferiority. These issues are not academic in Geneva, for upon their settlement rest the future possibilities of disarmament and even the issues of war and peace. They are all bound up in the single problem of how to work out an effective program of collective security. It is admitted that Article XVI of the Covenant, the article on peace enforcement, is inadequate as it stands today. If it can be strengthened where strength is needed, that is, as applied to European nations, and graded with comparatively slight obligations for outlying states, the resultant application of the federal principle may offer a solution. But whatever the choice which governments may make, the problem is now fully and clearly seen and is being attacked, not only by the statesmen who assemble in Geneva but, as will be seen below, by experts in political science and international law working under the auspices of the League.

The legal activities of the League have to do with more than international law in the narrower sense of that word. In addition to the problem of codification of international law, and to problems arising from the great growth of multilateral treaties—creating, as Professor Manley O. Hudson has pointed out, a type of international legislation—the elimination of war as an instrument of national policy has been a question of growing concern to the League. After the tentative discussions of the early years, from the days of the Geneva Protocol of 1924 to the present, hardly a year has passed without some proposal for strengthening the League's position or widening its activities in the prevention of war. These proposals have come to a head in recent years. On the one hand, the relation between security and disarmament recognized from the earliest days of the League, has led to an insistent demand for a strengthening of the sanctions of the League on the part of those countries which have looked to Geneva to increase their security. On the other hand, those nations which have put disarmament first have, until recently, opposed this line of policy by the League. The issues, therefore, involved in the application of collective security have been constantly before the Council and Assembly and have called for action by the juridical, as well as the political organizations of the League.

Similarly the proposal to harmonize the Covenant with the Pact of Paris (Briand-Kellogg Pact) has called for study as to the application of these new conceptions of international obligation. In the formulation of projects for the revision of the Covenant the Legal Section of the Secretariat and the Legal Committee of the League will also have important parts to play.

The Economic and Financial Organization is the best known of that part of the League's machinery which deals with the more technical aspects of international policy. Throughout the troubled years of the first phase of post-War Europe, Sir Arthur Salter built up these organizations until they were recognized on all sides as furnishing the strongest leverage available against the blind and fallacious economic policies of nationalistic governments. Although the trend of the times has been against these efforts, the Economic Relations Section of the League has nevertheless registered a continuing protest against disastrous tariff wars and other impediments to the recurrence of prosperity. Its appeal to intelligence has been buttressed by constructive work on the part of the Financial Section in the support of nations threatened by bankruptcy, such as Austria and Hungary. Studies are made of business conditions, prices, credit movements, the connection between fluctuations in economic conditions in different countries, and method of transmission; and above all tariffs. An annual, the *World Economic Survey*,³ in particular, deals with current outstanding problems in international economics and finance. Further detailed description of the work of the Economic and Financial Organizations is unnecessary in view of the fact that its accomplishment is described in the pages of Dr. Wallace McClure's volume, *World Prosperity as Sought through the Economic Work of the League of Nations*.⁴

The Communications and Transit Organization deals with important elements in international relations, which prior to the World War were not dealt with in the comprehensive way in which this Section of the League has been building up its international agreements. Regional organizations covering international waterways and arrangements for international traffic on railways, furnish a basis for some of the post-War developments in transportation, while the first and most successful general organization of international control, the Universal Postal

³ Published by the Economic Intelligence Service of the Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations.

⁴ Macmillan, 1933. This volume with its complete bibliography and footnote references shows the care with which the activities of the League are followed by the technical staff of the Department of State.

Union, furnishes a happy augury for League action in the matter of communications. But the nationalistic trend which has so interfered with trade and commerce has also made difficult the effort to secure greater freedom of transport by land, by water, and in the air. In a series of international conferences these conditions have been frankly faced and principles have been laid down capable of wide application and extension. One of the most important questions which has been dealt with recently is that of radio communication, brought more and more into the international field by the increasing strength of the distributing stations. In general it may be said that with the growth of science the problem of the ownership and control of all forms of the machinery of movement is bound to take a larger and larger place in international organization.

The Permanent Mandates Commission, appointed by the Council under Article XXII of the Covenant, comprises eleven Members, the majority of whom are nationals of non-mandatory States. This body receives and examines the annual reports of the Mandatory Powers and advises the Council in all matters concerning the conduct of affairs in connection with the Mandatory system. The reports of the proceedings of the Mandates Commission furnish a valuable source for the comparative study of mandated areas and colonies of similar type, as regards land policies, the participation of natives in political administration and administration of justice, concessions, finance and education.

The protection of Minorities is a problem which is ordinarily dealt with directly by the Council but the examination of petitions for redress of grievances may result in the erection of Minorities Committees set up to deal with each petition and report concerning it. There has been much agitation to systematize and strengthen the organization dealing with minorities, but governments, jealous of sovereignty, do not readily accept the development and extension of minority interference with their action. In spite of these facts, however, the League has extensive material dealing with some of the major sources of international irritation.

The government of the Saar Valley, of the Danzig area, and of the Corridor under the auspices of the League throws much light on the possibility of an international trusteeship in disputed areas, and the reports of the administration of these territories furnishes a full documentation on the economic life of these regions while under League control.

The Covenant made special provision for a whole series of activities which normally lie outside the field of politics, those which have to do with health and with social and humanitarian work and with the betterment of international understanding.⁵ In carrying out these obligations the League has been active and successful to a degree which has won recognition in all parts of the world. Although hampered by non-membership, which in limiting its responsibility lessens its efficiency, the United States has maintained an almost continuous cooperation with the League in this part of its program. In one of the most important divisions, however, the Health Organization, the United States has held back from a full measure of participation in the upbuilding of a world-wide organization for the prevention and effective control of contagious diseases. The cooperation in the past between the American Red Cross and the League in this regard left something to be desired.

Especially vigorous has been the campaign against narcotics which is carried on under the League's auspices. Among its achievements is the International Opium Convention; but the difficulty of dealing with backward countries has been increased by the connivance with their delinquency on the part of one or two of the more advanced nations. Equally active has been the action of the League in the suppression of the traffic in women and children. Less advanced toward practical measures are the study of child welfare, of penal administration and a number of other projects of social reform.

The Information Section of the Secretariat which serves as *liaison* with the representatives of the press in Geneva and at meetings held under the auspices of the League elsewhere, has from time to time described the nature of this work. It has also the task of clarifying public opinion upon the nature of the issues which confront the League and of explaining the action taken by it. It has established branch offices in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, Tokyo, and Bombay, and has corresponding members in a number of other countries, especially in Latin America. Its *Monthly Summary* of the current history of the League is published in six languages. In 1930 it issued a book entitled *Ten Years of International Cooperation* in which the heads of the various departments of the League summarized its history. In this connection special mention should be made of the services rendered to American students of the League by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General (with rank of Director), who was until 1933 Counsellor and Acting Director of the Information Section.

⁵ See Article XVII of *The Covenant*.

The need for a division of Information is apparent to anyone who attempts to study the history of the League action in any field. The official documentation is extremely difficult to follow. This is partly due to the complicated machinery of the League and partly due to the fact that questions frequently involve more than one Section, so that it is referred back and forth before final action is taken. The *Official Journal* gives a general chronicle of each year's history and special Guides are published from time to time summarizing the treatment of the major problems. The World Peace Foundation, the clearing house in the United States for the League of Nations publications, has prepared analytic guides to this material.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION AND ITS PROBLEMS

The International Labor Organization is an autonomous body functioning under its own constitution (Part XIII of the Treaty of Peace). At its head is the Governing Body and the annual Conference, representing labor and capital, as well as governments. It has its own secretariat. Its task is to raise throughout the world the standard of social justice upon which, as the Peace Treaties proclaim, both peace and prosperity depend. Basing its work upon careful study it has become the international research center for the facts of the daily life of the common man.

Its chief connection with the League is that the League allocates to it the funds for its yearly budget. In its organization and in its program it is independent of Council or Assembly and deals directly with the governments of those nations which are members of it. As a research center it has probably contributed more to social science than any of the other bodies associated with the League; and its research is more widely disseminated through extensive publications translated into more languages than is the case with other routine publications of the League.

Through its cooperating committees, its research activities reach well down into the social and economic life of the different countries, and the fact that both employers and workers are represented on it tends to maintain a well-balanced objectivity because its work must stand the test of criticism of more or less opposing groups. In addition to the central Labor Office in Geneva there are some fourteen corresponding offices in different countries, so that the staff is in constant touch with the movements of social politics the world over. There is an

office in Washington in spite of the fact that the United States is not a member.⁶

Among the publications of the International Labor Organization there is the "Legislative Series" with its analysis of social legislation and of the legal problems involved in it in different countries; the *International Labour Review*, the only magazine in the labor field devoted to economic and social problems when they become or may become matters of international interest; a series of Studies and Reports growing out of the special researches on social problems, carried on by the staff of the

⁶ "By a joint resolution (cf. *Congressional Record, Senate*, June 13, 1934, p. 11681) which the Senate unanimously approved on June 13 and the House passed three days later, the President was authorized to accept membership for the United States in the International Labor Organization, with the proviso that such action involved no obligations for this country under the Covenant of the League of Nations. Speaking at the annual Conference of the International Labor Organization in Geneva, which closed on June 23, Harold B. Butler, Director of its permanent Office, hailed the Congressional resolution as 'a great turning point in the history of the Organization.' Observers representing the government and the employers and workers of the United States were in attendance. On June 22, by unanimous vote of the delegates, the Conference decided to invite the United States to accept membership in the International Labor Organization as soon as possible. A full Governing Body was elected by the Organization for the next three years, but only after three states had privately agreed to surrender to the United States, immediately upon that country's entrance into the I.L.O., their seats for government, employers' and workers' delegates."—Dr. Alice S. Cheyney of the staff of the Washington Branch Office of the International Labor Organization in *Foreign Policy Reports*, Vol. X, No. 9, July 4, 1934.

Dr. Cheyney also explains that "The relations of the United States to the I.L.O. have assumed new importance since the Roosevelt administration, in carrying out its national recovery program, has undertaken to accomplish in this country what the International Labor Organization is attempting to achieve on an international scale. The industrial codes promulgated under the N.R.A. include labor provisions which forbid employment of children, limit working hours, establish minimum wage rates, or call for avoidance of particular abuses likely to arise in given occupations. Such provisions require the observance of certain employment policies as a condition of fair competition.

"The attempt to offer goods at lower prices than those of competitors puts pressure on all producers to keep down their costs, including those of labor. The theory on which labor provisions have been included in the N.R.A. codes is that it is in the interest of general public welfare that workers' standards of living should not fall below an acceptable level, and that efforts to secure competitive advantages by imposing socially undesirable conditions of labor do not constitute 'fair' method of competition. The International Labor Organization is acting on the same theory in establishing international standards for labor policies. Commodities produced by various countries compete in world markets precisely as those offered by the various producers within one country compete in its domestic market. The experience of the I.L.O. in fifteen years of activity and the methods it has found useful are of special interest in relation to the American experiment."

This same *Foreign Policy Report* describes the organization and work of the I.L.O. under the following topics: The Conference, The Office, The Conventions; it also discusses the relation of the I.L.O. to the League of Nations and to non-member States; in an appendix it lists the Conventions already adopted and designates the number of ratifications in each case.

Office, and an "Information Series" somewhat similar to the publications of the Information Section of the League. A companion volume to the League's *Ten Years of World Cooperation* was published in 1931 by the International Labor Office, *The I.L.O., the First Decade*. The American Academy of Political and Social Science, in March 1933, devoted an issue of its *Annals* to the work of the Organization, and this survey, by twenty-one experts, edited by Miss Alice S. Cheyney, Assistant Director of the Washington Office, describes in detail not only the political and economic achievements of the I.L.O. but also its research activities and publications. A documentary history of *The Origins of the International Labor Organization*, in two volumes, has just been published,⁷ presenting a narrative and descriptive account of the pre-War conferences on international labor legislation and of the negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference. The second volume furnishes a comprehensive documentary collection up to and through the Washington Conference of 1919.

⁷ By the Columbia University Press. It is announced as the first in a series of documentary histories dealing with the Peace Conference; the whole series is under the general editorship of Dr. James Brown Scott and is to be prepared under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

CHAPTER XVIII

ORGANIZATION FOR INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

Of special interest to this Survey is the Organization for International Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. The central organ of this activity of the League is the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, but the Organization also includes the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation situated at Paris, the International Educational Cinematographic Institute at Rome, and National Committees such as those described below. The purpose of the Organization is to serve as an avenue of cooperation of intellectual workers somewhat similar to that furnished by the International Labor Organization in the world of industry. Unfortunately, during the early days of the League the possibilities of this body were not fully explored, owing chiefly to British skepticism of the wisdom of extending the League to study theoretic conceptions of international peace, which it was feared might occupy the labors of an organization of this kind. The result was that until recently its program was limited to those intellectual pursuits which seem farthest removed from politics, such as the pure sciences, arts and letters. This distrust by the practical politicians of the plan to add an academic body to the League's organization was not without justification in the first years of the League. The result, however, was the creation of a Section of the League which until recently was not only lacking in personal contact with the work of the social sciences, but avoided the problems of those sciences in its agenda.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

The central organ of the Organization is the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. Its members are appointed by the Council of the League to serve for a period of five years. It holds annual meetings and has as its subsidiary organs a number of technical committees to which, as a matter of policy, most of the routine work of the central Committee is referred.

It is difficult to appraise the work of the Committee in the fields of culture, scholarship, and science, for there are no statistics to measure the impact of thought upon thought in the higher ranges of the intellectual life. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a definite need for such a body. Strangely enough, with all its rich endowment of learned academies and national organizations for research, Europe has not had an international academy designed to further the common interests of the learned and scientific world, such as was furnished, to some extent, by the medieval universities. In modern times the tendency has been for the various sciences and arts to establish their own international connections; but these have been limited to the furtherance of their own special interests rather than to the development of an international community of culture. The League of Nations does not in any way intrude upon the activities of these organizations, but helps to build them up. In addition it seeks to coordinate their activities. It offers a permanent *liaison* with international scientific bodies and cooperation between national and central libraries and between directors of education in different countries. In the field of education it has paid special attention to instruction in the aims of the League of Nations, international student exchange, and the revision of school textbooks by stimulating national action to this end. Among its most important agencies is the Permanent Committee for the Arts and Letters; and among the countries which have most responded to its suggestions special mention should be made of Japan; while in the section of Popular Arts, the Balkan countries have produced valuable contributions. The program of the Committee also includes the preservation of monuments and works of art and the conditions of access to them by foreigners. The international protection of authors, scientists, and artists's rights is a problem which is being jointly worked out by the International Labor Organization and the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. In the field of literature authors and thinkers of high repute have been drawn into public discussions across frontiers of the outstanding problems of the day, thus reviving one of the best traditions of the philosophic writings of the eighteenth century. An international bibliography of translations (*Index Translationum*) is among the most useful of the Committee's publications.

An important incident in the history of the Committee was the reference to it by the Disarmament Conference of a proposition of the Polish Government to insert a provision for Moral Disarmament in the Disarmament Treaty. This was to the effect that actual measures of

disarmament would depend upon the state of public opinion in the different countries concerned and that the most effective way to secure permanent measures of armament reduction would be through a betterment of international understanding. The Polish Government therefore proposed the drafting of a treaty in which each nation would undertake to prevent the publication in journals or in books of matters provocative of international ill-will and to maintain an adequate censorship over the cinema and radio to this effect. This proposal did not receive much attention by those governments which were intent upon securing immediate reduction of armament; nevertheless, without waiting for further action by the Disarmament Conference, the Polish and German Governments carried the main principles of this agreement into effect in February, 1924, thus furnishing a dramatic example of the possibilities of international intellectual cooperation between governments which have not been credited with a major interest in this technique of international dealing. The American and British delegations at the Conference have continued their interest in the proposal, but have given it a somewhat different turn, as is noted below.

In the last three years the Committee of International Intellectual Cooperation has definitely entered the field of the social and political sciences. In 1932 the membership of the Committee was changed by the Council of the League to ensure representation in these fields which, in its earlier years, the Committee either avoided or touched only from a distance. This has been partly due to the success of the Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations described below, but it is also to be attributed to the fact that the study of international relations has slowly but steadily made a place for itself in the curriculum of institutions of higher education. In both Council and Assembly, in 1933, an American proposal was adopted formally instructing the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation to include in its program the problems of the social and political sciences.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

As at present organized, the official organ of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation is the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, situated at Paris. This foundation is chiefly endowed by the French Government, although it also has support from other countries. Under the guidance of its present director, Monsieur H. Bonnet, it has won international confidence on all sides, and is

working out a well-balanced program on a genuine international basis without any trace of French governmental influence. So long as it continues on these lines, cooperation with it should be kept in mind in all plans for research work which fall within its field. While most of its activities have to do with the furtherance of international contacts in the field of education and in the arts and sciences, it has also prepared useful guides and bibliographies for the scientific study of international relations, and has held meetings of representatives of those institutions at annual conferences for the last few years. These meetings have developed into an autonomous organization; they are described in the paragraph following.

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CONFERENCE

This important development in research in international relations owes its origin to the Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, which, in 1926, brought into being a Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Affairs. This Conference has met annually ever since, but it did not begin to realize its possibilities until the meeting at Copenhagen, in 1931, when it was proposed to make the annual meetings more like those of the Institute of Pacific Relations by introducing round table discussions. The results of this experiment were realized in the fifth meeting of the Conference, which was held at Milan in May, 1932, and the sixth meeting, held at London in 1933. In the judgment of those who took part, this organization has now definitely proved its utility in the field of research as a forum for technical international discussion.

At the London meeting, the Conference assumed a constitution of its own. It is composed of institutions which have as their purpose the scientific study of international affairs, and of representatives of those sections of university faculties which include international relations in their program. The application of these categories has not proved easy and has called for coordinating committees in each of the larger countries, whose duty it is to secure representation from competent organizations and to act as *liaison* for the Conference as a whole; for example, the British Coordinating Committee included representatives from the London School of Economics, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, and from the universities. The French Coordinating Committee represented nine different institutions or faculties; the German Coordinating Committee represented a dozen such bodies, and the Italian, nine. In the United States, the Council on Foreign Relations acts as

National Coordinating Center cooperating in this regard with the American National Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.

The topic chosen for the Milan Conference of 1932 was the "International Implications of the Relations of Business to Government," or, as stated in still wider terms, "The State and Economic Life." To reduce this vast field to workable dimensions, subcommittees met from time to time during the year, and the result was an adequately directed Conference. The same subject was also discussed at London the following year by a commission of the Conference, under the title of "Measures Affecting International Trade and Finance." A second Commission dealt with "Intervention of the State in Private Economic Enterprise." It was decided at this Conference that the topic for the meeting to be held in 1935 should deal with the question of Collective Security. The name of the Conference of the Institutions was changed to International Studies Conference. In general, the procedure followed is that of the Institute of Pacific Relations; the press is excluded from the sessions and only an agreed report is made public. This safeguards full freedom of discussion and has resulted in programs of notable quality.

AMERICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

The American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation is the agency in the United States of the League of Nations Organization for Intellectual Cooperation. The chairman of the American Committee is the American member of the League Committee, and is appointed by the Council of the League.

The structure and personnel of the American Committee were largely reorganized in October, 1932, in order to make it representative, not only of the disciplines covered by its program, but also, to some extent, of existing national organizations. While the new plans of the Committee provide for an enlarged program in the social sciences, they must necessarily follow the general lines of work of the League Committee and cover activities in literature, art, and the exact sciences, as well as administrative problems in the field of international intercourse.

To deal with these problems, technical committees were set up to advise the National Committee. In order to make these committees generally representative in a national sense, it was obvious that existing organizations would have to be drafted, for otherwise the National Committee would be setting up subcommittees of its own which would in some instances cover subjects already adequately provided for. There-

fore, the technical organization consists, for the most part, of the Committees of other national organizations used in this advisory capacity.

Questions in the field of formal education, for example, are referred for technical advice to the Committee on Problems and Plans of the American Council on Education. This is the central Committee of one of the most important bodies of education in the United States. It has representation from the universities and colleges, the great Foundations and the public school system and is closely articulated with the work of other bodies. There is no existing committee or organization in the United States in the field of adult education so constituted as to be able to fulfill the needs of the Committee. Therefore a special Standing Committee has been appointed, selected from various representative organizations working in this field. The members of this technical committee have been asked to serve, however, in a purely personal capacity. All questions pertaining to international scholastic exchanges and affiliated problems are referred to the Institute of International Education, of which Dr. Stephen P. Duggan is the director.

Questions arising in the field of literature are referred for advice to the International Relations Committee of the P.E.N. (Publishers, Editors, Novelists) Club. This Committee serves as *liaison* with P.E.N. Clubs in other countries and, representing an organized group of publishers, editors, and novelists, furnishes a competent body to further intellectual cooperation in the field of literature.

The Joint Committee on Materials for Research of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, as already constituted, covers the entire field of documentation and has representatives of those bodies which have a continuing interest in archival problems. As the most competent body, therefore, it was asked to act as the Advisory Committee for the American National Committee. Library economy and museums are both adequately represented.

In the field of social science the American National Committee has cooperated with the American Coordinating Center of the Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations. An indication of the nature of this work is given above.¹ In addition, the Committee has contributed to the discussion of the revision of the Covenant and other problems in international relations.

In the field of broadcasting, the American National Committee uses as its advisory body the Committee on International Relations of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. The Advisory Coun-

¹ Cf. p. 79.

cil has already done much to revise and enrich the programs of broadcasting. The Committee on International Relations is a regular part of the National Advisory Council organization.

All questions pertaining to the pure and applied sciences are referred by the National Committee for advice to the National Research Council.

While the American National Committee does not itself either undertake the carrying on or the actual planning of research, through its technical advisory structure it investigates and suggests ways in which international intellectual problems may be studied in the United States, and it acts as a general clearing-house for the exchange, between the United States and the League organization, of information bearing on problems in international relations.

A project of major interest to the American National Committee is that of Moral Disarmament referred to above. The original proposal of the Polish Government and of the Commission of the Disarmament Conference to strengthen international understanding included measures of government control over education and the organs of public opinion, which would be impossible of acceptance in the United States. A redraft of the proposal was therefore made by the chairman of the American Committee and was presented to the Disarmament Conference in the summer of 1932 by the American and British delegations in a Declaration, which, however, was made too late for further action by the Disarmament Conference.

The text of the American proposal follows:

The High Contracting Parties,

Conscious of the extent to which the reduction and limitation of armaments depend upon increasing the trust and confidence of nations in their dealings with each other, and

Conscious that the sense of security which this confidence engenders depends not only upon the present policies of government but also upon the international understanding of the history and outlook of the nations themselves, and

Conscious of the fact that the conditions of the modern world make necessary increasing international contacts with proportionately greater chance for either strengthening or endangering international peace,

Agree to recommend to their competent educational authorities the study of the principles and application of pacific settlement of international disputes and of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy, and to prescribe those subjects in all examinations for government positions which may involve relations with other countries, not only in the consular and diplomatic service, but in all branches of the national government.

Invite the cooperation of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations to study the services that the cinema, the theater, and broadcasting can render in the furtherance of international understanding and the ways and means for increasing the spirit of tolerance, fair play, and justice among nations;

To this end the National Committees on International Intellectual Cooperation in each country shall report every year to the International Commission of Intellectual Cooperation on the steps which have been taken in conformity with the obligations arising under this agreement, and these reports shall then be published by the Secretary General of the League of Nations.

It will be seen that the American text puts the accent upon the encouragement of the study of what might be called "International Civics" in the curriculum of schools and colleges. The fact that the national government would prescribe a knowledge of this technique of international dealing for all candidates for positions that had to do with the conduct of international affairs would, it was believed, be a sufficient stimulus to secure an adequate place for "international civics" in the whole educational curriculum. The provisions dealing with the molding of public opinion are left in terms sufficiently elastic to serve rather as the program for policies than as a formal international obligation. If accepted, however, it would place the responsibility squarely upon the International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation to find "the ways and means for increasing the spirit of tolerance, fair play and justice among nations."

The *impasse* in the Disarmament Conference which continued throughout 1933 prevented any further developments in this field, but the proposal has met with strong support whenever it has come up for discussion. The most important of these occasions was at the meeting of the National Education Association in Minneapolis in 1933, when the Department of Superintendence, one of the most patriotic, conservative bodies in the country, and the one with the greatest immediate influence upon the school curriculum, passed the following resolution:—

As social-economic problems today are world-wide, they must be solved on a world-wide basis. We therefore commend the program of the American and British delegations to the Disarmament Conference on the subject of Moral Disarmament. We heartily agree with them that the principles of pacific settlement of international disputes and of the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy should be included in preparations for

all governmental positions which may involve relations with other countries. . . .²

The text of the draft treaty may well conclude this volume. It is the educational counterpart to the whole political movement of the post-War years, which has sought, through the auspices of League and Court and the acceptance of the Briand-Kellogg Pact, to lay the foundation of an international community. The existence of that process is still obscure in the minds of most people. This survey shows some of the forces available for education; but the depths of ignorance and prejudice have not been plumbed. The task of making the civilized world intelligent by the extension of education has only just begun. That of making it reasonable may perhaps be achieved through the lessons of experience. But it must be admitted that the trend toward nationalism, which the War and the Depression have left as their heritage, makes the effort which this book describes increasingly difficult, but also increasingly important.

² Cf. p. 336 and n. 32.

INDEX-DIRECTORY

- Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., 112-113
Political Science Quarterly, 112
Proceedings, 112
- Academy of World Economics, 734
 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 113
- Accountants, American Society of Certified Public, *see* American Society of Certified Public Accountants
- Accountants, American Institute of, 135 Cedar St., New York, N. Y., 98
- Accounting, International Congress on, 98
- Actuaries, Comité permanent des Congres international d', 97
- Adams, Romanzo, 122
- Addams, Jane, 357
- Adult Education, Association for, 60
 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y., 26, 339, 420
 affiliated with World Association for Adult Education, 339
Adult Education, Journal of, 339
- Adult Education Association of Cleveland, Cleveland College Building, Public Square, Cleveland, Ohio
 Foreign Affairs Institute of, 63
- Adult education by radio, 390
 classification of agencies for, 343-345
 defined and illustrated, 338 ff.
 discussion, the new technique of, 340-343
 formerly, 8
 schools for, 338
- Adult Education in the United States, Handbook of*, 339
- Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., 22 East 40th St., New York, N. Y., 147, 148
Aeronautical News, Foreign, 52
- Aeronautics, Warsaw Convention, 148
- Aeronautics Trade Division of Department of Commerce, *see* U. S., Department of Commerce, Aeronautics Trade Division
- Africa, 1875-1899, The Struggle for South* (Lovell), 115 n. 32
- Africa, Native Problem in, The* (Buell), 115 n. 32
- Agricultural Cooperative Associations, 156-157
- Agriculture, School of Tropical, 234
- Alexander, Thomas, 415
- Allen, Eleanor Wyllys, *The Position of Foreign States before Belgian Courts*, 115 n. 32
- Alsberg, Carl, 69
- Alumni conferences and the study of international relations, 361
- Alvarez, Alejandro, 192
- America Must Choose* (Wallace), 86
- American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., 408
- American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 28 Newbury St., Boston, Mass., 44, 45
- American Academy of Political and Social Science, 3457 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 113-114, 123 n. 40, 293, 408
- American Anthropological Association, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 38, 44, 110, 111, 292
- American Antiquarian Society, Park Ave. and Salisbury St., Worcester, Mass., 44, 295
- American Arbitration Association, 521 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 158 f.
- American Asiatic Association, 1 Hanover Square, New York, N. Y., 245
- American Association for Labor Legislation, 131 East 23d St., New York, N. Y., 345

- American Association for the Advancement of Science, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 45, 60
- American Association of Museums, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 73
- American Association of Teachers of Spanish, 271
- American Association of University Professors, H. W. Tyler, general secretary, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 111 f.
- American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 362-363
affiliated with World Court Committee, 353
fellowships, 278, 408
member of Committee on Cause and Cure of War, 354
member of Council for the Prevention of War, 356
- American-Austrian Institute, Amerika Institut, N.W. 7 Universitätsstrasse 8, Vienna, Austria, 430
- American Bar Association, 1140 North Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., 101, 102
- American Chamber of Commerce in Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 146
- American Chamber of Commerce in London, Aldwych House, Aldwych, London, W.C. 2, 146
- American chambers of commerce, foreign work of, 142 f.
- American chambers of commerce abroad, 145-146
- American Clothing and Furnishings Credit Bureau, Inc., The (now a part of Dun and Bradstreet), 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 140
- American Committee for the Outlawry of War, 1 North La Salle St., Room 2525, Chicago, Ill., 351, 353
- American continental outlook, 6
- American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth St., Washington, D. C.
- Bulletin of (Directory), 44*
- American Council of Learned Societies (Cont.)
Committee on the Promotion of Chinese Studies, 239
coordinating council, 37
fellowships, 44, 408
member associates, 44
membership in International Union of Academies, 42 f.
Orient, study of, 227, 231-233
origin and projects, 7, 42-43
- American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, *see* Institute of Pacific Relations, American Council
- American Council on Education, c/o Geo. F. Zook, Washington, D. C., 243
- American Defense Society (now inactive), c/o Major Charles, 60 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y., 333
- American Delegations to International Conferences, Congresses and Expositions, on International Institutions and Commissions*, 436 n. 2
- American diplomacy, Study of, 206-207
- American Diplomacy during the World War* (Seymour), 127 n. 44
- American Economic Association, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., 110
charter member of Social Science Research Council, 38 and n. 15, 111
member of American Council of Learned Societies, 44
membership, 111
representative on Board of Editors of *Social Studies*, 106
represented on National Bureau of Economic Research, 92
- American Economic Review*, 110
- American Education Press cooperates with National Student Forum, 331 f.
- American Ethical Union, 2 West 64th St., New York, N. Y.
National Women's Conference of, 86 n. 10, 354, 376
- American Exporter, The*, 370 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y., 140
- American Exporters' and Importers'

- Association, 10 Bridge St., New York, N. Y., 153
- American Federation of Labor, American Federation Building, Washington, D. C.
affiliated with World Court Committee, 353
represented in National Bureau of Economic Research, 92
- American Federation of Teachers (in National Council for the Prevention of War), 506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill., 356
- American Foreign Credit Underwriters, Inc., 381 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y., 140
- American Foreign Law Association, c/o Grier Bortol, secretary, 41 Broad St., New York, N. Y., 102 f.
- American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (Callahan), 297
- "American Foreign Policy in Relations with Canada" (Callahan), 297
- American Foreign Relations, Executive Agents in* (Wriston), 127 n. 44
- American Foundation, 565 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 34-35, 351
- American Foundations and Their Fields*, 23, 37 n. 13
- American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 34, 121, 123-124, 356, 368, 408
New England Branch, 120 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
award from Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34
institutes of, 121, 123-124
institutes aided by Board of Church Peace Union, 356, 368, 408
- American Geographical Society, Broadway and 156th St., New York, N. Y.
Bulletin, 292
character of work, 87
cooperation with other organizations, 40, 89 f., 235, 295-296
department of Hispanic-American Research, 89
- American Geographical Society (Cont.)
part in settlement of international boundary disputes, 88-89
pioneer belt studies, 89 f., 295-296
publications touching international relations, 87, 231, 235
- American Historical Association, 40 B St., S.W., Washington, D. C.
American Historical Review, 105
Annual Report, 104
charter member of American Council of Learned Societies, 44
Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (*Report of*), 324-325
Committee on Bibliography, 105
Far Eastern Committee, 234
international affiliations, 106-107
membership in Social Science Research Council, 38 and n. 15, 111
origin and membership, 104, 111
prizes, 106
Public Archives Commission, 104
representative on Board of Editors of *Social Studies*, 106
survey of teaching of Hispanic-American history, 264-265
- American history
according to college catalogues, 280 f.
in the continental sense, 283
including Canadian-American relations, 281
- American History, Writings on*, 104 and n. 22
- American-Hungarian Foundation, 522 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 35 f., 420
- American Industry in Europe* (Southard), 133 n. 1
- American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, 724 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 420
- American Institute of Accountants, *see* Accountants, American Institute of
- American Institute of Electrical Engineers, 29 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 99, 100
- American Institute of International Affairs, *see* Council on Foreign Relations
- American Institute of International

- Law, 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 58, 192-193
- American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, 29 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 99
- Mineral Inquiry, 101; Rockefeller grant to, 31
- American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature and Sciences (Minneapolis), 74
- American-Japanese Trade Council, 1 Hanover Square, New York, N. Y., 152
- American Jewish Committee, 171 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 378
- American Jewish Congress, 122 East 42d St., New York, N. Y., 378
- American Journal of International Law*, 191, 192
- Special Supplements* to, 195
- American Legion, Hall of Records, New York, N. Y., and 777 N. Meridan St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- program in education, 333, 344 and n. 1
- The Story of Our American People*, 333
- American Library Association, 520 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., 69, 391
- cooperates with National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 391
- American Management Association, 20 Vesey St., New York, N. Y., 92
- American Manufacturers Export Association, 330 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 140
- American Manufacturers Registered for Export*, 155
- American Medical Association, 535 N. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., 97
- American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West at 77th St., New York, N. Y., 72
- American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation, 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y., 449-453
- coordinating center, 37, 79
- radio sub-committee, 391
- American Oriental Society, 907 15th St., Washington, D. C., 44
- American Oriental Society of New York, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y., 245
- American Peace Society, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 190, 358-360
- American Peoples College, The, 545 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 410-411
- American Philological Association, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., 44, 420
- American Philosophical Association, c/o Charles W. Morris, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 44
- American Philosophical Society, 104 S. Fifth St., Philadelphia, Pa., 44, 45, 63
- American Policy and International Society*, 113
- American Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry in the United States, Inc., 149 East 67th St., New York, N. Y., 146
- American Political Science Association, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 44
- American Political Science Review*, 111
- and American Council of Learned Societies, 44
- charter member of Social Science Research Council, 38 and n. 15, 111
- membership, 111
- representative on Board of Editors of *The Social Studies*, 106
- American Psychological Association, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 38, 110, 111
- American Scandinavian Foundation, 116 East 64th St., New York, N. Y., and 25 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., 35 f., 408, 431
- American School Citizenship League, 295 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass., 331, 356
- American School of Oriental Research, 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., 408

- American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, Connecticut Ave. and H St., Washington, D. C., 60
- Americans from Abroad*, by John Palmer Gavitt (American Library Association, Reading with a Purpose [Series]), 69
- American Society of Certified Public Accountants, D. W. Springer, secretary, National Press Building, Washington, D. C., 98
- American Society of Civil Engineers, 33 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 99 f.
- American Society of International Law, George A. Finch, secretary, 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 102 f., 191-194
- Proceedings of*, 191
- American Society of Mechanical Engineers, 29 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 99-100
- American Sociological Society, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 38 n. 15, 44, 110 n. 15, 111
- American Spice Trade Association, 82 Wall St., New York, N. Y., 150
- American Standards Association, 29 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y., 100-101
- American Statistical Association, 236 Wooster St., New York, N. Y., 38, 92, 103, 111
- American Tariff League, 25 West 43d St., New York, N. Y., 159
- American Trade Index*, 11 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 155
- American University, Washington, D. C., 60
- School of Public Affairs, 212 n. 11; Institute, 124
- American University of Beirut, Syria, 32 n. 10
- American University Union, 1 Gordon Square, London, Eng., and 173 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, France, 425, 428, 429 f.
- Amerika Institut, *see* American-Austrian Institute
- Analysis of the Attitudes of American Educators and Others toward a Program of Education for World Friendship and Understanding*, *An* (H. L. Smith and L. M. Chamberlain), 315 and n. 4
- Anderson, Jr., B. M., 139
- Angell, James W., *Financial Foreign Policy of the United States*, 79
- The Recovery of Germany*, 78 n. 3
- Anglo-American Conference (address: Institute of Historical Research, University of London, London, Eng.), 107
- Anglo-American Institute. The first of Moscow University (under auspices of Institute of International Education, Inc., 2 West 45th St., New York, N. Y.), 417
- Arbitration, 7, 14, 189
- Arbitration Association, American, 158 f.
- Archæological Institute of America, 125 Elm St., Oberlin, Ohio, 44, 420
- Archives Building, 54
- Armstrong, Hamilton Fish, 78
- Around the World* (Case and Limberg), 324
- Art objects
- lending of, 18, 73
- repatriation of, 72, 73
- Ashland Folk School, Grant, Mich., 338
- Association for Adult Education, *see* Adult Education, Association for
- Association for Honoring the Liberators of the Nations of America, president, James Brown Scott, 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 268 f.
- Association for Peace Education, Chicago (not now functioning), 327 n. 26a
- Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations, *see* International Law Association
- Association of American Colleges, 111 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
- resolution accepting Oriental languages, 239-240
- Association of American Rhodes Scholars, c/o Frank Aydelotte, president, Swarthmore, Pa., 408, 425

- Association of American Universities,
Charles B. Lipman, secretary, 113
California Hall, University of
California, Berkeley, Calif., 66,
198 n. 3, 287
- Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs,
Room 355, Physics Building, Uni-
versity of Minnesota, Minne-
apolis, Minn., 397
- Association of Secretaries of Cham-
bers of Foreign Commerce in the
United States, Inc., 149 East 67th
St., New York, N. Y., 146 f.
- Atlas of the Historical Geography of
the United States* (Paullin), 25
n. 2
- Austro-American Institute of Educa-
tion in Vienna, Elisabethstrasse 9,
Vienna, Austria, 411
- Automobile assembling plants abroad,
132
- Automotive Foreign Trade Manual*,
148
- Avukah, American Student Zionist
Federation, 1133 Broadway, New
York, N. Y., 397
- Babcock, Earle B., 27, 428
- Bagley, W. C.
A First Book in American History,
327
The Teacher of the Social Studies,
325
- Bailey, S. H., *International Studies in
Great Britain*, 429 n. 13
- Bain, H. Foster, *Ores and Industry in
the Far East*, 78 n. 3, 231 and n.
4
- Baird's *Manual of American College
Fraternalities*, 395 n. 1
- Baker, Newton D., 63
- Balance of International Payment of
the U. S., The*, 50
- Baltimore Museum, Baltimore, Md.,
72
- Bank of International Settlements at
Work, The* (Dulles), 115 n. 32
- Batchelder, N. H., 322
- Batsell, Walter Russell, *Soviet Rule
in Russia*, 115 n. 32
- Beale, Howard K., *Freedom of Teach-
ing*, 325
- Beard, Charles A., 204
chairman of Executive Board of
Social Studies, 106
*Charter for the Social Sciences in
the Schools, A*, 325
*Idea of National Interest; an Ana-
lytical Study of American For-
eign Policy, The*, 41
Nature of the Social Sciences, The,
325
textbooks, 327
- Beirut, American University of, *see*
American University of Beirut
- Berlin, organizations concerned with
international relations (addresses
under title)
- Amerika Institut, 430
Deutscher Akademischer Austausch-
dienst, 411, 430
Hochschule für Politik, 424, 431
Notgemeinschaft der deutschen
Wissenschaft, 430
- Berlin, University of
Library of Amerika Institut, 430
Roosevelt professorship, 424
- Bibliographical Society of America,
Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.
Y., 44
- Bibliographies on world affairs by
libraries, 69
- Bidwell, Percy W., *Tariff Policy of
the United States*, 79
- Bishop Museum, 233
- Blakeslee, George Hubbard, 211
- Bliss, Tasker H., 75
- Bluntschi, philosophy, 8, 65
- B'nai B'rith, 36 West 69th St., New
York, N. Y., 379
- Board of Church Peace Union, The,
70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.,
368
- Boeckel, Florence Brewer, *Across
Borderlines*, 309 n. 1
- Bolton, Herbert E.
course on history of the Americas,
282
History of the Americas, 282
idea of "Epic of the Americas," 282
n. 1
library collection, 276
- Bolton, Herbert E., and Thomas Mait-
land Marshall, *The Colonization
of North America*, 294

- Bonds, foreign, 136 f.
- Bonnet, Monsieur H., 447
- Borah, William E., 77, 335
- Borden, Sir Robert L., *Canadian Constitutional Studies*, 299 and n. 20
- Borges, E. Gil, 268
- Bowman, Isaiah
Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences, 325
International Relations, 69
New World, The, 88
Pioneer Fringe, 88, 89 f., 295
- Brainerd, Heloise, 273
- Branch factories abroad, 132, 134, 161
- Brebner, J. Bartlet
Explorers of North America, The, 1492-1806, 294
New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada, 291
- British Columbia, University of, Vancouver, B. C., 68, 295
- British Commonwealth of Nations, courses on, 283-285
- British Empire, Schemes for the Federation of the (Cheng)*, 291
- "British Government and the Proposal of Federation in 1858" (Trotter), 298
- British history, including Canadian-American relations, 284
- British League of Nations Union, 15
Grosvenor Crescent, London, S.W. 1, Eng., Geneva Institute of International Relations, 427
- British Library of Information, 270
Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 71
- British Survey of International Affairs*, 79 n. 4
- Broadcasting organizations, 91, 391, 403
- Broadcasting stations, 389 f.
- Broadcasts, news, 390 f.
- Brookings, Robert S., 90
- Brookings Institution, The, 722 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
doctoral theses, economic, 184
grants: from Carnegie Corporation, 26; from Rockefeller Foundation, 32 n. 10
Institute of Government Research, studies of, 90 f.
- Brookings Institution, The (Cont.)
Institute of Economics, studies of, 91
reasons for and origin of, 8, 60, 90
study of international control of raw materials (Pacific area), 231
study of financial situation of Japan, 231
studies in Pacific area, 231
weekly broadcasts, 91
work at post-graduate level, 91
- Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y., 73
- Brooks, L. W., 317
- Brown, Geo. W., grant-in-aid to, 297
St. Lawrence Waterway as a Factor in International Trade and Politics, The, 290
- Brown, Philip, 413
- Brown University, Providence, R. I.
course on Latin America, 263
endowed lecture foundations, 421
graduate study in Canadian-American relations, 288
- Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., 281, 292, 421
- Bucharest, Institutul Social Roman, 431
- Buck, Pearl, *The Good Earth*, 248
- Buell, Raymond Leslie
chairman of Cuba investigation, 83
Native Problem in Africa, The, 115
n. 32
president of Foreign Policy Association, 81
quoted, 82
World Adrift, The, 86 n. 9
- Bureau of Economic Research, 8
- Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, *see* U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce
- Bureau of International Relations at University of California, *see* California, University of
- Bureau of International Research at Harvard University and Radcliffe College, *see* Harvard University
- Bureau of Social Hygiene, 61 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 350
- Bureau of University Travel, 11
Boyd St., Newton, Mass., 411-412
- Burgess, John W., 65

- Burritt, Elihu, 190
 Burt, A. L., 286
 Burton, Theodore E., 359
 Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National Federation of, *see* National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
Business Annals (Thorp), 92
 Business institutions, nature of, 130
Business in the U. S., Survey of Current, 50
 Business man's view of international relations, 130-131
 Business Publishers International Corporation, 330 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 140
 Business research in international relations
 changing character of, 134-135
 effect of depression, 131
 pre-War and post-War, 163
 types, 160-161
 Butler, Nicholas Murray
 chairman of Committee on Economic Sanctions, Twentieth Century Fund, 33
 contributions as President of Carnegie Endowment, 27
 director of Division of Intercourse and Education, Carnegie Endowment, 28
 formation of public opinion, 268, 347
 Butterfield, Kenyon L., 383
 Cabot, Richard C., *International Health*, 352
 California, University of, Berkeley, Calif., 68
 Bureau of International Relations, 115-116 and n. 34, 214, 230; publications of, n. 34 on 116
 College of Commerce, 208
 Conference on International Relations, 124
 courses in: international relations, 208; Latin-American affairs, 263
 credit for: Oriental languages, 239; Pacific relations, 242
 dissertations on Canadian-American relations, 290
 endowed lecture foundation, 421
 exchange professors, 276
 California, University of (Cont.)
 Far Eastern studies, 232
 history of the Americas, 265, 282
 "Ibero-Americana," 268
 students from the Orient, 243
 Summer school in Far Eastern civilizations, 124
 California Fruit Exchange, Blue Anchor Building, Sacramento, Calif., 156 f.
 California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif., 68
 Callahan, James Morton
 American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations, 297
 "American Foreign Policy in Relations with Canada," 297
 Cambridge University, England
 doctoral theses in economics, 184
 Laura Spelman Rockefeller Professorship, 425
 Eastman Visiting Professorship, 425
 Canada
 history of: "Bibliography" (Trotter), 293 n. 18; "Canadian History in the Universities of the United States" (Trotter), 285 n. 3; courses of study, 285-288; dissertations, 292; *The History of Canada* (Wittke), 294
 literature concerning: *Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada* (Hurd and Grimley), 297 f.; *History of Trade Union Organization in Canada* (Logan, H. A.), 290; *Canada: a Study of French Colonial Policy, The Seigneurial System in* (Munro), 289 n. 9; *Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada* (Munro), 293; *Fur Trade in Canada* (Innis), 298; *Grain Growers Co-operation in Western Canada* (Patton), 291; *History of Canada* (Trotter), 285; *Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness, 1900-1913* (Viner), 291; *The Unreformed Senate of Canada* (MacKay), 290 n. 14; *The United States and Canada*, 299; *The Feudal System in Canada* (Munro), 289; *Social*

- and Economic Conditions in the Dominion of Canada*, 293; *Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of the Republic and the Dominion* (Keenleyside), 294; *Canada and the United States, 1815-1830* (Moore), 290; *The United States and Canada* (Wrong), 299; *Preparing Shipments to Canada*, 51; *Operation of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada*, 291; *Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-1931* (Dawson), 294 n. 18; *New England's Outpost, Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (Brebner), 291; *Postponing Strikes; a Study of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada* (Selekman), 291
- Canada within the British Commonwealth, courses of study on, 283 f.
- Canadian-American relations
documentary material, 293
importance of, 223, 225, 280
research in, 299-304
Round table on, 299
study of, 30, 170, 280-284; *see also* Canada, history of
- Canadian-American Relations, A Project of Research in*, 299-304
- Canadian Archives, Guide to the Materials for United States History in* (Parker), 293
- Canadian Constitution* (Riddell), 298
- Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929 Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the* (Kennedy), 294 n. 18
- Canadian Constitutional Studies* (Borden), 299 n. 20
- Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885, Select Documents in* (Innis and Lower), 294 n. 18
- Canadian Federation, Its Origins and Achievement; a Study in Nation-Building* (Trotter), 290
- "Canadian Field Trip, Joint," 287 f.
- Canadian Government, American Influences on* (Munro), 299 n. 20
- Canadian Historical Review*, 288 and n. 7, 293 n. 18
- Canadian history, *see* Canada, history of
- Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 26
- Canadian Labor Laws, a Study of* (Stewart), 291
- Canadian National Problems*, 293
- Canadian Pacific Railway, A History of the* (Innis), 290
- "Canadian Pioneer Settlement," 90
- Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of 1854* (Tansill), 289
- Canadians presenting masters' essays in universities of the United States, 289
- Canadian Tariff on Aviation Products, A Report on the*, 148
- "Caribbean Area, The," 268
- Caribbean History, 1763-1834, A Guide for the Study of British*, 105
- Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 225 South 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 35, 36, 420
- Carman, Henry J., *The Cooperation of the United States with the League of Nations*, 352
- Carnegie, Andrew
Endowment for International Peace, 346
endowments of, 24
founder of Church Peace Union, 368
Gift for Pan American Building, 57
- Carnegie Corporation, 522 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 25-26
- contributions: to Canadian-American Relations Project, 30, 300; to Pan American Union, 57; to Social Science Research Council, 39; Institute of Economics (now Brookings Institution) created by, 90
- Institutions assisted by, 26, 66, 271, 296 f., 347
- Report*, 37 n. 13
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 405 West 117th St., New York, N. Y., and 700 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 26-30
- Adult Education, 346
- Canadian-American Relations Project, 300-303
- Contributions, 27-28
- Divisions and directors, 27, 60

Carnegie Endowment (Cont.)

Economics and History, Division of,
405 West 117th St., New York,
N. Y., 29-30, 60-61

*Economic and Social History of
the World War*, 30

Canadian-American Relations Re-
search, 30, 303

Espit International, 346 n. 6

European center, 173 Boulevard St.
Germain, Paris, 27, 428

fellowships, 195, 408

grants: to American Association of
Museums, 73; to Geneva Re-
search Center, 427; to Hispanic-
American scholars, 271; to Insti-
tute of Pacific Relations, 234; to
institutes, 122

history, organization, and purpose,
26-30

Intercourse and Education, Division
of, 405 West 117th St., New
York, N. Y., 28-29, 60

aid to Pan American relations, 269
Inter America, 269

"International Alcoves Libraries,"
28

"International Conciliation" pam-
phlets, 28 f. and n. 6, 84, 335,
346

"International Mind Alcoves," 69
International Relations Clubs, 28,
126, 399-400

International Law, Division of,
700 Jackson Place, Washington,
D. C., 29, 60

conferences for teachers financed
by, 194-195

*Research in International Law
since the World War* (Wright),
196

teaching of international law, in-
quiries into, 193-194

lecturers, foreign, 420

lectureships, traveling, 346-347

Library in Paris, 173 Boulevard St.
Germain, 428

Library in Washington, 700 Jackson
Place, 60-61

*Motion Pictures on Foreign Coun-
tries and on International Rela-
tions*, 387

Carnegie Endowment (Cont.)

pioneer institution, 6, 7

publications, 26 n. 4

Carnegie Foundation for the Advance-
ment of Teaching, 522 Fifth Ave.,
New York, N. Y., 24, 39, 309

Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pa., 25, 74

Carnegie Institution, 16th and P
Streets, N.W., Washington, D. C.,
24-25

publications, 25 and n. 2, 60, 102

Research, Department of, 202

Carnegie Professorship of Interna-
tional Relations at the Hochschule
für Politik in Berlin, 424

Carter, Clarence Edwin, *The Cor-
respondence of General Thomas
Gage, 1763-1765*, 297

Carter, E. C.

*American Research Fellowships on
the Far East*, 235 n. 10

*China and Japan in Our University
Curricula*, 237 n. 13

*College Entrance Credit in Chinese
and Japanese for Occidental Stu-
dents*, 239 n. 18

Case, Adelaide, and Paul M. Limberg,
Around the World, 324

Cassidy, Henry M., 297

*Catalog of Units of Work, Activities,
Projects, etc.* (Carey, Hanna, and
Merriam), 311-312

Catholic Action, 377

Catholic Association for International
Peace, *see* National Catholic Wel-
fare Council

Catholic Church, *see* Roman Catholic
Church

Catholic Clubs, Federation of College,
4026 Aspen St., Philadelphia, Pa.,
398

Catholic Men, National Council of, *see*
National Council of Catholic Men
Catholic University, Washington, D.
C., 124, 290

Catholic Welfare Council, National,
see National Catholic Welfare
Council

Catholic Women, National Council of,
see National Council of Catholic
Women

Catt, Mrs. Carrie Chapman, 340, 354

- Cecil of Chelwood, Viscount, 34
- Central Conference of American Rabbis, Committee on International Peace, c/o Rabbi Max C. Currick, 523 West 9th St., Erie, Pa., 356
- Certified Public Accountants, American Society of, *see* American Society of Certified Public Accountants
- Chacko, C. J., *International Joint Commission between the United States and the Dominion of Canada*, 291
- Chaire Carnegie, 424
- Chamberlain, Joseph P., 40, 169
- Chamberlain, Leo M., and Henry L. Smith, *An Analysis of the Activities of American Educators and Others toward a Program of Education for World Friendship and Understanding*, 323 f.
- Chamber of Commerce, International, *see* International Chamber of Commerce
- Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H St., Washington, D. C., 60
- Far Eastern interest, 231, 246 f.
- Foreign Dep't, and publications, 143-144
- Chambers of commerce, 142-147
- Chandler, H. A. E., 140
- Chanler, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant, 398
- Chapman, C. E., originator of *Hispanic American Review*, 263
- Charl  t  , S., 429
- Chase National Bank, The, Economics Department, 18 Pine St., New York, N. Y., 139
- Chautauqua, Chautauqua, N. Y., 340
- Check-List of European History Collections*, 105
- Cheng, Seymour Ching-yuan, *Schemes for the Federation of the British Empire*, 291
- Cheyney, Alice S., 443 n. 6, 444
- Chicago, University of, Chicago, Ill.
- Chinese and Japanese collections, 238
- dissertations: in Canadian-American relations, 289, 290; in economics, 183, 184; in preparation, 292
- Doctorate in International Relations, 201
- Division of the Social Sciences, International Relations, 209-210
- endowed foundations, 421
- graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 288
- grants from Rockefeller Foundation, 32 n. 10
- international economic relations, study of, 208
- Mid-West Institute, 123
- Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, 117, 122, 210, 299
- Chicago Association of Commerce, 1
- North La Salle St., Chicago, Ill., 147
- Children's Bureau, *see* U. S., Labor, Department of
- Chile, University of, 276
- Chilean Fellowships, 276 f.
- China
- literature concerning: *China: Land of Famine* (Mallory), 88, 231 n. 5; *China and Japan in Our Museums* (March), 73 n. 19, 238 and n. 16; *China and Japan in Our University Curricula* (Carter), 237 n. 13; *Report of the League of Nations Mission of Educational Experts on the Reorganization of Education in China*, 244; *A Study of Chinese Boycotts with Special Reference to Their Economic Effectiveness* (Remer), 127 n. 44; *Chinese Revolution, a Phase in the Regeneration of a World Power*, *The* (Holcombe), 115 n. 32
- China, *see also* Pacific area; Far Eastern affairs
- China Club of Seattle, 541 Henry Building, Seattle, Wash., 245
- China Institute in America (China Institute of New York), 119 West 57th St., New York, N. Y., 245, 420
- China Society of America, 570 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., 245

- China Society of New York, 570 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., 245
- China Society of San Francisco, 245
- Chinese and Japanese collections in Library of Congress, 238
- Chinese documents and art material, 238 f.
- Chinese Educational Mission, 1360 Madison St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
fellowships and scholarships, 408
- Chinese Geological Survey, 234
- Chinese Mass Education Movement, Ting Hsien, Hopei, China, 35
- Chinese Roerich Association, 310 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y., 245
- Chinese language
college training in, 239 f.
literature concerning: *Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States of America* (Griffin), 237 n. 14; *Careers Open to American Students of Chinese Language and Civilization* (Hodous), 227; *Chinese and Japanese for Occidental Students, College Entrance Credit in* (Carter), 239 n. 18
- Christian Century, The*, 440 South Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill., and 95 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 353
- Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 383 f.
- Church of the Brethren, 22 S. State St., Elgin, Ill.
Board of Christian Education, activities of the, 356, 375-376
- Cincinnati, University of, 66
- Cinema and international relations, 387-388
- Citizenship, Current Problems in* (Munro), 328
- Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth* (Pierce), 309 n. 1, 325, 333 n. 1
- Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (Pierce), 241 f., 325 n. 17, 330
- Civic Education Service, 331 f.
- Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas, 338
- Civics, "International," 452
- Civics
international, teaching of, 310
textbooks in, 328
- Colorado, University of, Boulder, Colo., 263, 288
- Civilization, contemporary, course in, 202
- Clark, Evans, 37 n. 13
- Clark, Grover, 234
- Clark, John Bates, 27
- Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
Canadian-American Relations: graduate work in, 288; dissertations on, 290
fellowships, 295
history program, 205
international relations, doctorate in, 201
- Cleveland, activities in international relations, 63
- Cleveland Museum, Cleveland, Ohio, 74, 243
- Cogswell, Franklin D., 380
- Coleman, Laurence Vail, *Directory of Museums in South America*, 73
- College Art Association, 137 East 57th St., New York, N. Y., 420
exhibitions and publications, 74, 296
- College credits, in American colleges for work in European summer schools, 417
- College entrance examinations
purpose and influence, 328 f.
questions, classification of, 329
- College entrance requirements
influence of, 309, 323
in Oriental languages, 239
in Pacific relations, 242
- College graduates, number of, 307
- Collegiate School of Business, The* (Marshall), 181 n. 2
- Collegiate schools of business
in international relations, courses of study in, 182
- Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
Chinese and Japanese collections, 238
- Council for Research in the Social Sciences, 116

- Columbia University (Cont.)
 doctoral dissertations: economics,
 183-184; Canadian-American, 291-
 292
 graduate school, size of, 65
 grants from Rockefeller Founda-
 tion, 32 n. 10
 Hispanic America, course of study
 on, 263
 history, courses of study in, 204
 international relations, teaching of,
 204-205
 lecture foundations, 298, 421
 Orient, students from the, 243
 Oriental languages, credit for, 239 f.
 Parker School of International Af-
 fairs, 128 f.
 political science faculty, 7 f., 65, 204-
 205
 Roosevelt professorship, Berlin, 424
 social and economic history, teach-
 ing of, 204-205
 Teachers College, cooperation with
 Nankai University, 242 f.
Coming of the White Man, The
 (Priestley), 294
 Comité maritime internationale, 34-35,
 Place Verte, Antwerp, Belgium,
 102
 Comité permanent des Congres inter-
 national d'actuaries, 97-98
 Commercial banks, 138-140
 Commercial Bureau of American Re-
 publics, 57
 Commercial Museum of Philadelphia,
 34th St. below Spruce St., Phila-
 delphia, Pa., 140
 Commission for Coordination of
 French Institutes for the Scien-
 tific Study of International Rela-
 tions, Sorbonne, Paris (Louis Eis-
 enmann, secretary, Univ. of Paris;
 S. Charléty, chairman, President
 of the Council of the Univ. of
 Paris), 429
 Commission for Relief in Belgium
 Educational Foundation, 42
 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 35,
 408, 420
 Commission of Inquiry on National
 Policy in International Economic
 Relations, 31, 41-42
 Commission on the Coordination of
 Efforts for Peace, 359 n. 9
 Commission on the Relation of School
 and College, 323
 Commission on the Social Studies in
 the Schools, 106, 324-325
 Committee of Experts, 79. *See* Coun-
 cil on Foreign Relations
 Committee on Cause and Cure of
 War, 1116 Grand Central Ter-
 minal Bldg., New York, N. Y.,
 82, 354-356
 Committee on Cultural Relations with
 Latin-America, 112 East 19th St.,
 New York, N. Y. (Hubert C.
 Herring, executive director), 417
 Committee on Friendly Relations
 among Foreign Students, 347
 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.,
 245, 372-373
 Committee on Inter-American Rela-
 tions, *see* Council on Inter-Amer-
 ican Relations
 Committee on Militarism in Educa-
 tion, 2929 Broadway, New York,
 N. Y., 351, 356
 Committee on Research in Latin
 America, Social Science Research
 Council, 230 Park Ave., New
 York, N. Y., 269
 Committee on World Friendship
 among Children, 105 East 22d St.,
 New York, N. Y., 332, 344, 370
Commonweal, The, 377
 Commonwealth Fund, The, 41 East
 57th St., New York, N. Y., 33
 fellowships, 33, 408
 grants to research in international
 law, 195
 professorship of American History
 at the University of London, 425
 research in education, 309
 Social Science Research Council,
 gifts to, 39
 Communications and Transit Organi-
 zation of the League of Nations,
 439
 Communications Commission, Federal,
 388 f. and n. 20
 Communist League of America, 126
 East 16th St., New York, N. Y.,
 362
 Concert of Europe, 438

- Conciliation technique, basis of, 14
 Confédération internationale des étudiants, 22 Place de Brouckère, Brussels, Belgium, 397, 404
 Conference for the Codification of International Law, 1930 (First), 195
 Conference method, 437
 Conferences of Teachers in International Law, 194
 Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, *see* International Studies Conference
 Conference on Far Eastern Studies, New Haven, Conn., 245
 Conference on International Arbitration at Lake Mohonk (Eleventh Annual), 191
 Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, 1899, 189
 Cook, Wm. W., 66
 Coolidge, Archibald C., 62 f., 75 n. 1, 78
 Cooperation
 between organizations, 38 and n. 15, 40, 41 f., 85, 92, 196, 233-234, 368
 in research: kinds, 178; Latin America, 265-268; need and opportunity for, 176-177; practiced by Institute of Pacific Relations, 255-256; problem of, 176-179
 intellectual agencies for, 37
Cooperation, Ten Years of World, 444
 Coordination
 in research: agencies for, 19; Commission for Coordination of French Institutes for Scientific Study of International Relations, 429; Coordinating Center of the Conference of the Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, American, 450; in the Pacific area, 228 ff.
 of disciplines necessary for research in International Relations, 176
 of disciplines of study, 169 f.
 of discussion and research, 249-252
 Corbett, Percy Ellwood, 299
 Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 65
 dissertations in Canadian-American relations, 290
 Cornell University (Cont.)
 endowed lecture foundation, 421
 graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 288
 Cortes Society, at Heye Foundation, 155th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y., 270
 Cosmopolitan Clubs, Association of, *see* Association of Cosmopolitan Clubs
 Council for Research in the Social Sciences, Columbia University, 116
 Council of Women for Home Missions, 105 East 22d St., New York, N. Y., 86 n. 10, 354, 356, 381
 Council on Foreign Relations, 45 East 65th St., New York, N. Y., 8, 75-79, 448 f.
 award from Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34
 "Coordinating Center," 79, 449 f.
 financial assistance from Rockefeller Foundation, 31
 library, 71, 76
 origin and membership, 8, 76
 publications, 78-79 and notes, 230 f.
 study groups, 78
 Council on Inter-American Relations, 135, 152
 Committee on Inter-American Commerce, 1 Hanover Square, New York, N. Y.
 Latin-American Center and Library, 67 Broad St., New York, N. Y.
 Council on International Relations, 715 South Hope St., Los Angeles, Calif., 350
 Counts, George S., 310 f.
 Education in an Industrial Age, 325
Courses in International Affairs in American Colleges (Symons), 194, 197 and n. 1, 198 n. 2
Courses Offered in International Relations and International Law (Columbia University), 205
 Courses of study in history of Canada, *see* Canada, history of, courses of study
 Courses of study in international re-

- lations, *see* International relations, courses of study
- Cox, I. J., 282
- Crane, Charles S., 80
- Credit and Audit Company of America, The, 24 Bank St., New York, N. Y., 140
- Credits, *see* College credits
- Cuban-American Friendship Council (no longer functioning), 274
- Culbertson, W. S., 185
International Economic Policies, 181
- Cultural Expeditions to Orient, 112
- East 19th St., New York, N. Y., 412
- Current History*, 335
- Curriculum
inclusion of international relations, in secondary schools, 323
in universities, 202
standardization, 308
- Curti, Merle E., *Social Ideas of American Educators*, 325
- Danish West Indies, The Purchase of* (Tansill), 127 n. 44
- Danzig area, 440
- Daughters of the American Revolution, Memorial Continental Hall, 17th St. and D St., Washington, D. C., 333
- Davidson, Charles Jordan, *The North-West Company*, 290 n. 13
- Davison, Henry P., Scholarship Fund, *see* Henry P. Davison Scholarship Fund
- Davis, Joseph S., 118
- Davis, Malcolm, 427
- Dawson, R. McG., *Constitutional Issues in Canada, 1900-1931*, 294 n. 18
- Dean, Mrs. Vera Micheles, *Soviet Russia, 1917-1933*, 86 n. 9
- Debating teams, 403-404
- Delaware, University of, Newark, Del., 407
- Dengler, Paul, 430
- Denver schools, 316-317
- Denver, University of, Denver, Colo.
endowed lecture foundation, 421
Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, 67
Institute of World Affairs, 124
- Department of Commerce, *see* U. S. Commerce, Department of
- Department of State, *see* U. S. State, Department of
- DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind., 66, 421
- Depression
and business research, 131
and foreign trade, 163
meaning of present, 11 f.
- Deutsche Hochschule für Politik, 56
Schinkelplatz 6, Alte Banakademie, Berlin, Germany, 31, 131
- Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst in Berlin, Cz Schloss, Berlin, Germany, 411, 430
- Dewey, A. Gordon, *The Dominions and Diplomacy: the Canadian Contribution*, 291
- Dewey, John, 243, 353, 411
- Dictionary of American Biography*, 43 and n. 18
- Directory of American Agencies Concerned with the Study of International Affairs*, A, 80
- Disarmament, 438
- Disarmament, moral
resolution on, 336 and n. 31
text of resolution on, 451-452
- Disarmament Conference, 336
- Disarmament conferences, news gathering at, 357
- Disarmament Council, Intercollegiate, 399. *See* Intercollegiate Council on International Cooperation
- Discussion and research, 18
- Dissertations, doctoral
Canadian-American Relations, 289-293
economics: in U. S., 182-184; in England, 183, 184
Far Eastern subjects, 240
Hispanic-American history, 264
history touching international relations, 218-219
international relations, 215-219
- Dissertations, Library of Congress List of American, Doctoral*, 214
- Dissertations in Preparation in Universities and Colleges of the United States, The List of Doctoral*, 292

- Dodd, Walter Fairleigh, ed., *Modern Constitutions*, 293
- Dominian, Leon, *Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe*, 87
- Dominion and Diplomacy, the Canadian Contribution, The* (Dewey), 291
- Dorsey, Mrs. Susan M., 318
- Duggan, Stephen P., 270, 450
- Duke University, Durham, N. C., 67, 422
- Duke Institute, 121, 124
- Dulles, Eleanor Lansing
- The Bank of International Settlements at Work*, 115 n. 32
- The French Franc, 1914-1918; the Facts and Their Interpretation*, 115 n. 32
- Dulles, John Foster, 78
- Dun and Bradstreet, Inc., 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 140
- Dunn, Frederick Sherwood, *The Protection of Nationals: a Study in the Application of International Law*, 127 n. 44
- Dunning, William A., 204
- The British Empire and the United States*, 294
- Du Pont de Nemours Co., 162
- Dynastic histories of China, translation of, 232
- Earle, Edward M., 81
- Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
- Institute of Foreign Affairs, 124
- East Asiatic Society of Boston, 245
- Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford, 425
- Economic and Financial Organization of the League of Nations, 439
- Economics
- literature: *Economic Analysis of Foreign Trade of the U. S.*, 50; *Economic and Social History of the World War*, 30; *Economics of World Peace*, 113; *Essay on Some Workings of Economic Nationalism, A View of Europe, 1932: an Interpretation* (Van Zeeland), 127 n. 44; *International Economic Policies; A Survey of the Economics of Diplomacy* (Culbertson), 181; *Subject Index to the Economic and Financial Documents of the League, 1927-1930*, 85
- research, character of, 180
- surveys in foreign countries, 134
- Eddy, Sherwood, 417
- Education, 203
- and international relations, 453
- literature: *Education in an Industrial Age* (Counts), 325; *State Control of Secondary Education* (Trovell), 308 n. 1
- national system of, 307
- research organizations, 309
- Edwin Ginn Library, *see* Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy
- Eisenmann, Louis, 429
- Electrotechnical Commission, International, *see* International Electrotechnical Commission
- Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars, 2 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., 426
- Emory University, Emory, Ga., 124, 422
- Engineering Building, 29 W. 39th St., New York, N. Y., 99
- Engineering Index Service, 99
- Engineers, American Institute of Electrical, *see* American Institute of Electrical Engineers
- Engineers, international affiliations of, 99-101
- Epworth League of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 740 Rush St., Chicago, Ill., 370
- Europe
- expansion of, importance of study of, 223
- history of importance in the study of international relations, 218 f.
- European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and Its Dependencies, to 1848* (Dav-enport), 25 n. 2
- Exchange professors, 28, 67, 424-425
- Exchanges, Depreciated*, 50
- Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations* (Wriston), 127 n. 44

- Exile, The University of, 66 West 12th St., New York, N. Y. (now graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science), 425 f.
- Fact-finding bodies, criticism of, 13
- Far East (*see also* China; Japan; Orient; and Pacific area)
agencies for developing general interest in the, 245-248
languages, 239 f.
study of Committees on, 227; conference on, 245; importance to the U. S., 226-227; in primary and secondary schools, 241-243; seminars, 232
- Far Eastern Association for Tropical Medicine, Hoods Kantoor van den Dienst, Der Volksderzondheid 10, Taratattan, Weltevreden, Batavia, 233
- Far Eastern Diplomacy, An Introductory Syllabus on* (Quigley), 237 n. 15
- Farmer Foundation, *see* Texas, University of, Austin, Tex.
- Farrand, President Livingston, 426
- "Fats and Oils Series," 118
- Fay, Sidney B., *Origins of the World War*, 220 n. 17
- Federal Communications Commission, 388 f. and n. 20
- Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, 105 East 22nd St., New York, N. Y., 369-370
and adult education, 82, 341
and World Court Committee, 253
Committee on World Friendship among Children, 246, 332, 344, 370
Dept. of International Justice and Goodwill, 341, 369, 376
Layman's Inquiry, 246, 382 and n. 17
National Committee on Church and World Peace, 370
- Federal Reserve Bank, Foreign Information Division, 137
- Federated Textile Industries, Inc., 468 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y., 150-151
- Fédération interalliée des anciens combattants, American Legion, 50 Church St., New York, N. Y., and 15 Rue de Presles, Paris, France, 344 n. 1
- Fédération de l'Alliance française aux Etats-Unis et au Canada, 32 Nassau St., New York, N. Y., 420
- Federation of Women's Boards of Foreign Missions of North America, 419 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y., 86 n. 10, 354, 381. *See also* Foreign Missions Conference
- Committee on International Relations, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 381
- Feilchenfeld, Ernst H., *Public Debts and State Succession*, 115 n. 32
- Feis, Herbert
Europe: The World's Banker, 1870-1914, 78 n. 3
- Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 356, 358
- Fellowships and scholarships, 406-408; *see also* International Student Exchanges
for graduate students, 406
for study in the United States, 408
for study of: Canadian-American relations, 294-295; Hispanic-America, 276; international law, 195; Pacific area, 235
for study outside the United States, 408
Hispanic-American, 276-279
literature: *American Research Fellowships on the Far East* (Carter), 235 n. 10; *Fellowships and Scholarships Open to American Students for Study in Foreign Countries*, 406 n. 7; *Fellowships and Scholarships Open to Foreign Students for Study in the United States*, 406 n. 7
of Commission for Relief in Belgium, 35
of Commonwealth Fund, 33
of Farmer Foundation, 67
of John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 33
- Fidac, 15 Rue de Presles, Paris, France, 344 n. 1

- Field, David Dudley, 190
- Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago
Chinese and Japanese material, 238 f.
expedition to French Indo-China, 72 f.
- Field Museum—Oxford University Joint Expedition to Mesopotamia, 73
- Films, 378 f.
for church and educational purposes, 36
foundations, 387-388. *See also* Peace Film Foundation; International Film Foundation; University Film Foundation
on educational subjects, 387
on League of Nations, 387, 388
- Financial Foreign Policy of the United States* (Angell), 79
- Financial Information Service Organizations, 141-142
- Financial Policy of the United States* (Bidwell), 79
- Financing exports, problems of, 134
- Finch, George A., author of chapter on "International Law," 169, 268
- Firestone Tire and Rubber Co. in Liberia, 161
- First National Bank of Boston, Boston, Mass., 141
- Fisk, G. M., and P. S. Pierce, *International Commercial Policies*, 181
- Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (administered by Tufts College and Harvard University), Medford, Mass., 85 f., 129
- Edwin Ginn Library, 71, 85, 129
- Florida, University of, Gainesville, Fla.
Institute of Inter-American Affairs, 274 f.
- Fogg Art Museum, 239
- Food Research Institute, *see* Stanford University, Food Research Institute
- Ford, J. D. M., 267
- Ford Motor Company in Brazil, 161
- Foreign Aeronautical News*, *see* *Aeronautical News*, *Foreign Affairs*, 78, 335
- Foreign Affairs Bibliography* (Council on Foreign Relations), 78 n. 2, 91 n. 13
- Foreign Affairs Council, Foreign Affairs Institute of, 124
- Foreign Affairs Forum, 330 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 350
cooperation with F. P. A., 87
information for adult education, 341
- Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc., 90 Broad St., New York, N. Y., 136 f.
- Foreign chambers of commerce in the United States, 146
- Foreign Commerce and Navigation of the U. S.*, 50
- Foreign Commerce of the U. S.*, *Monthly Summary of*, 50
- Foreign credit information, sources of, 140-141
- Foreign departments of individual firms, types of, 160-163
- Foreign Missions Conferences of North America, 381
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., 381
- Foreign Policy Association, 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y., 81-83, 347-350
affiliates, 349
award from Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34
branches, 348
Commission for investigating Cuban Problems, 82 f.
cooperation with other organizations, 349-350
exhibits, 349
"F. P. A. Committee Reports," 85-86
financial assistance, 30
information for adult education, 341-342
joint program with World Peace Foundation and others, 85-87, 350
library, 71
membership, 348
offices, 83
origin and purpose, 8, 81
publications, 82-83, 85-86, 348
radio broadcasts, 348

- Foreign Policy Association (Cont.)
 reports, 82, 348; in teacher training schools, 335; on the Far East, 230; on the International Labor Office, 443
 Research Department, 81-82
 Student Committee, 395-396
 study groups, 86, 348-349
 "World Affairs Pamphlets," 86
Foreign Policy Bulletin, 83, 348
Foreign Relations of the U. S., The (Mowrer), 69
Foreign Relations Supplements, see Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States and Canada
 Foreign Service, The
 courses of study for: Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 85 f., 129; George Washington University, 209; Georgetown University, 127-128; Princeton University, *see* Princeton University
 number trained for, 127-128
Foreign States before Belgian Courts, The Position of (Allen), 115 n. 32
 Foreign students in American colleges and universities, 407
 Foreign Study Association, 19 West 44th St., New York, N. Y., 412-413
Foreign Tariffs and Commercial Policies during 1932, 51
 Foreign Trade
 associations, 151-157
 clubs, 154
 college teaching of, 182
 promotion agencies: agricultural co-operation associations, 156-157; chambers of commerce, 142-147; trade associations, 147-151; foreign trade associations, 151-156; foreign trade publications, 157-158; Webb-Pomerene associations, 156
 publications, list of, 157-158
 Forums, 345
Foundation, The: Its Place in American Life (Keppel), 37 n. 13
 Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences, University of Denver, Denver, Colo., 67
 Foundations
 compared to medieval universities, 23
 facts about modern, 36
 gifts to universities, 66
 studying human relations, 24
 studying international relations, 23
 Francis W. Parker School, 321 f.
 Frederick, Robert M., *An Investigation into Some Social Activities of High School Graduates*, 323 and n. 7
 Freer Gallery, 59 and n. 7, 238 f.
French Franc, 1914-1918, The; The Facts and Their Interpretation (Dulles), 115 n. 32
 French Institute in the U. S., 22 East 60th St., New York, N. Y., 420
French Régime in Prince Edward Island, The (Harvey), 298
French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest (Kellogg), 293
 Friends, Society of, *see* American Friends Service Committee, and Society of Friends
 Friendship Tours, Mr. Philip Brown, director, 505 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 413
Fur Trade and Empire, George Simpson's Journal (Merk), 290
 Gates, William, 272
 Gay, Edwin F., 92
 General Alliance of Unitarian Women, Committee on Social Service, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., 356, 376
 General Conference of the Religious Society of Friends, 1515 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa., 356
 General Education Board, 49 West 49th St., New York, N. Y., 39, 66, 309
 General Electric Co., Schenectady, N. Y., 133, 162
 General Federation of Women's Clubs, 1734 N St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
 and adult education, 341
 and Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 354
 Department of International Relations, 363

- General Federation of Women's Clubs
(Cont.)
study courses, 86 n. 10, 363 f.
Pan American Fellowship, 278
- General Motors Export Company,
1775 Broadway, New York, N. Y.,
161
- Geneva, Switzerland
American Committee, 426
American Interorganizational Council on Disarmament, 428
Geneva Research Center, 31, 426-427
Geneva School of International Studies, 427
Graduate Institute of International Studies, 427
International Consultative Group, 428
International Students Service, 427
International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 427
Scandinavian Workers School, 427 n. 11
Students' International Union, 427
study center, 426, 435
- Geneva Graduate Institute of International Studies, *see* Graduate Institute of International Studies, The
- Geneva Headquarters of Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., *see* Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.
- Geneva Protocol of 1924, 438
- Geneva Research Center, 3 Rue Butini, Geneva, Switzerland, 31, 426-427
- Geneva School of International Studies (Bureau d'études internationales) Conservatoire de Musique, Place Neuve, Geneva, Switzerland; 501 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y.; and 23 bis Rue Balzac, VIII, Paris, France, 427
- Gentry, Curtis G., 310
- Geographical and Historical Society of the Americas, 910 17th St., Washington, D. C., 270, 275
- Geographical Review*, 87
- Geography
courses of study and Canadian-American relations, 281
textbooks, 327-328
- Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences* (Bowman), 325
- Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.
School of Foreign Service, 127-128
- George Washington University, The, Washington, D. C.
center of inter-American studies, 268
endowment from National League of Masonic Clubs, 128
endowed lecture foundation, 422
foreign commerce and foreign service courses, 209
seminar conference on Hispanic-American affairs, 124, 268, 274
training for foreign service, 127
- Georgia, University of, Athens, Ga., 67
endowed lecture foundation, 422
Institute of Public Affairs, 124
- German Business Cycles* (Schmidt), 92
- German professors, hospitality to, 425-426
- German Scholars, Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced, *see* Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars
- German scholars in American institutions, 425-426
- Glass, James M., 311
- Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.
courses of study: in history of Canada, 285; in history of Latin America, 263
endowed lecture foundations, 422
- Government activities in research, 12 f.
- Government reaction to facts and opinion, 13
- Government planning, 13
- Government Printing Office, *see* U. S. Government Printing Office
- Graduate Institute of International Studies (Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales), 5 Promenade du Piu, Geneva, Switzerland, 31, 427
- Grandi, Dino, 77
- Granges, 344
- Graves, Mortimer
quoted, 227
secretary of Committees on Far Eastern Studies, 227
- Great Britain and the Dominions*, 299

- Green International, The, 132 East 65th St., New York, N. Y., 398-399
- Griffin, Eldon, *Progress of Chinese Studies in the United States of America*, 237 n. 14
- Grinnell College, Grinnell, Ia.
Conference on International Relations, 124
- Grundtvig, N. F. S., 411
- Guaranty Trust Company, The, 140 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 139 f., 141
- Guggenheim Fellowships, *see* John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation
- Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, John Simon, *see* John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation
- Guide to Historical Literature*, 105
- Guisti, D., 431
- Habicht, Max, *Post-War Treaties for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; a Compilation and Analysis of Treaties of Investigation, Concluded during the First Decade Following the World War*, 115 n. 32
- Hacienda, La, 20 Vesey St., New York, N. Y., 140
- Hague Peace Conferences, 7, 189, 190
- Hall, Arnold Bennett, 68
- Hamilton College, Clinton, N. Y., 285, 422
- Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., 281
- Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, *see* *Adult Education in the United States, Handbook of*
- Handbook of Scientific and Technical Societies and Institutions of the U. S. and Canada* (Nat. Research Council), 46 n. 21, 103 n. 21
- Hansen, Alvin H., 42
- Haring, Charles H., 267
South America Looks at the United States, 115 n. 32
- Harley, J. E., *International Understanding*, 67 n. 9
- Harmon Foundation, 140 Nassau St., New York, N. Y., 36
- Harris, S. E., *Monetary Problems of the British Empire*, 115 n. 32
- Harris Foundation, *see* Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, University of Chicago
- Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 65
Bureau of Economic Research on Latin America, 267
Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College: influence, 102, 195-196; origin and funds, 31, 114; problems in international affairs, 114-115; publications, 115 n. 32, 214
Council on Hispanic-American Studies, 267
courses of study: in international law and relations, 199 f.; on Far East, 232; on Latin America, 263
dissertations: in economics, 183-184; in preparation touching Canadian-American relations, 292; on Canadian-American relations, 289, 290-291
endowed lecture foundations, 422
exchange professorships, 425
Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 129
Fogg Art Museum, 239
international law, study of, 200
Law School, 195
men in foreign service, 128
Oriental languages, credit for, 239
Rockefeller Foundation grant for research in international law, 31, 32 n. 10
students from the Orient, 243
Harvard-University of Paris Exchange Professorship, 424-425
Harvard-Yenching Institute, 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass., 232, 235
fellowships and scholarships, 408
library, 71
Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.
Institute for Labor Leaders, 120 f., 124
endowed lecture foundation, 422
Harvey, D. C., *The French Régime in Prince Edward Island*, 298

- Hawaii, University of, Honolulu, Hawaii
 Americans at, 417
 credit for Oriental languages, 239
 School of Pacific and Oriental Affairs, 122
 School of Tropical Agriculture, 234
 Summer school in International Relations, 68
- Hay, John, 190
- Hayes, Carlton J. H., 204
 and Parker Thomas Moon, *Modern History*, 327
- Health Organization of the League of Nations, 441; *see also* League of Nations
- Hedges, James B., 297
Herald Tribune, Women's Conference on Current Problems, 340
- Henry P. Davison Scholarship Fund, 14 Wall St., New York, N. Y., 33
- Heye Foundation, 155th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y., 270
- Hines, Walker D., 134
- Hispanic-America
 courses of study on, 264-265
 doctoral dissertations on, 264
 research on, 264
Hispanic America, Modern, 268
Hispanic American Historical Review, Duke University Press, Durham, N. C., 263, 275
- Hispanic Society of America, Broadway and 156th St., New York, N. Y., 71, 270
- Historians, teaching by, 204-207
- Historical Outlook* (now *Social Studies*), 105 f.
- History, courses of study in
 at Clark University, 205
 at Columbia University, 204 f.
 at Northwestern University, 206-207
 at Stanford University, 205-206
 content of, 204
- History, cultural, 174, 176
- History of Canada: a Syllabus and Guide to Reading* (Trotter), 285
- History of Canada, The* (Wittke), 294
- History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of the United States*, 25
- History of Science Society, c/o Mr. Frederick E. Brasch, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 44
 "History of the Americas," 282-283
History Teaching and School Text-Books in Relation to International Understanding, 327
- Hochschule für Politik (not at present functioning), 56 Schinkelplatz 6, Alte Banakademie, Berlin, Germany, 424
- Hoffman, Malvina, 72
- Holcombe, Arthur N., *Chinese Revolution, The*, 115 and n. 32
- Holiday Courses in Europe*, 416, 417, 418-419
- Hoover, Herbert, 117, 185
- Hoover War Library, Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif., 63, 68, 71
- Horn, Ernest, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies*, 325
- Howland, Charles P., 79
- Hudson, Manley O., 195, 438
- Hughes, Charles Evans, 192
- Human relationships, foundations studying, 24
- Hummel, Arthur W., 56, 232
- Huntington, Archer Milton, 270
- Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 68
- Hurd, Burton W., and T. W. Grimley, *Agriculture, Climate and Population of the Prairie Provinces of Canada*, 297 f.
- Hurst, Sir Cecil, 75 n. 1
- Hutchins, Robert M., 42, 210
- Idaho, College of, Caldwell, Ida.
 course on the history of Canada, 285
- Illinois, University of, Urbana, Ill., 67
 course on Latin America, 263
 endowed lecture foundation, 422
- Imperialism
 courses on British, 284
 study of, 223-224
- Imperialism, The Struggle for South Africa, 1875-1899; a Study in* (Lovell), 115 n. 32
- Importers Guide*, 101 West 31st St., New York, N. Y., 140
- Index to United States Documents*

- Relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861, 25*
- India, literature on
Christian College in India, 382 n. 16
Island India Goes to School (Em-bree, Simon, Mumford), 36
- Indiana Council on International Relations, c/o F. Lee Benns, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 350
- Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 66
 graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 288
- Industrial Pension Systems in the United States and Canada* (Latimer), 96 n. 16
- Industrial Relations Counselors, 1270 Sixth Ave., New York, N. Y., 96 and nn. 15, 16
- Industrial Standardization and Commercial Standards Monthly, 100*
- Innis, Harold Adams
A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway, 290
Fur Trade in Canada, 298
- Innis, H. A., and A. R. M. Lower,
Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885, 294 n. 18
- Institut international du Commerce, Palais d'Egmont, Brussels, Belgium, 98
- Institute for Labor Leaders, Haverford College, c/o American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 120 f., 124
- Institute of Current World Affairs, 522 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 80
- Institute of Economics and History of Copenhagen, 32 n. 10
- Institute of Economics at the University of Oslo, 32 n. 10
- Institute of Historical Research, 18 Malet St., London, Eng., 107, 429
- Institute of International Affairs, American, *see* Council on Foreign Relations
- Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th St., New York, N. Y.
- Institute of International Education (Cont.)
 assisted by Carnegie Corporation, 270, 347
 award from Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34
 Bureau of Foreign Lecturers, 347, 420
 cooperates with: American Society of Mechanical Engineers, 99; Anglo-American Institute of first Moscow University, 417; National Foreign Trade Council, 269
 fellowships and scholarships, 408; administers, 269, 278
 foreign professors in American universities, 1932-1933, 425
 interchange of students and professors, 276
 interest in Hispanic America, 271
 lectures by American professors in foreign universities, 425
 origin, 270, 347
 seminar schools in Europe, statistics concerning, 416
- Institute of International Finance, 90 Trinity St., New York, N. Y., 135, 231
- Institute of International Intellectual Cooperation, 2 Rue de Montpensier, Paris, France
 activities, 447-448
 Conference for the Scientific Study of International Relations, 79, 429
 coordinating agency, 20, 37
 museums office, 72
 relation to the League of Nations, 445
 summer schools in Europe, statistics concerning, 416
- Institute of International Law, 236, Avenue Molière, Brussels, Belgium; correspondence, c/o Professor de Visscher, 84, Coupure, Ghent, Belgium, 190-191
- Institute of International Relations, Geneva, Switzerland, 427
- Institute of International Relations, 173 Boulevard St. Germain, Paris, France, 428
- Institute of International Relations, c/o Dr. H. Priestley, director,

- University of California, Berkeley, Calif., 124
- Institute of International Relations (now Institute of World Affairs), Riverside, Calif., 122
- Institute of Pacific Relations, Honolulu, T. H., and 129 East 52d St., New York, N. Y., 18, 19, 124, 228-231, 248-262
- American Council: function, 229; grant for introduction of courses on Far East, high school, 242; information service, 247, 262; library, 262; research staff, 229; opportunity for Oriental language study, 239 f.
- compared to Pacific Science Association, 46
- Conferences, 228-229, 249 ff., 262; technique of, 230
- Careers for students of Chinese language and civilization* (Hodous), 227
- data papers, 228, 251, 258
- dissemination of results, 261-262
- Economic Handbook of the Pacific, An*, 261-262
- Far East; study of college course on, 236
- financial assistance from Rockefeller Foundation, 30
- function, 253
- Hawaiian group, 242
- International Research Committee: cooperation with Rosenwald Fund, 36
- migration study, 229 f.
- National Councils, 229
- Pacific Affairs*, 261
- Pacific and international policies, problems correlated to, 256, 258
- research: administration of, 259-260; cooperation in, 18, 255-256; coordination of, in countries bordering the Pacific, 228
- Research Committee, experience of, 229
- round table discussions, 250 ff.
- Institute of Politics at Williamstown, 119-120, 274
- Institute of Social Sciences at Heidelberg University, 32 n. 10
- Institute of World Affairs, 122
- Institutes
- meeting in 1934, 123-125
- not meeting in 1934, 125
- on the Pacific coast, 122
- Institut International de Droit Public, 32 n. 10, 429
- Institut international du sciences administratives, Brussels, Belgium, 98
- Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, Casa de las Españas, 435 West 117th St., New York, N. Y., 271, 420
- Institutul Social Roman, Piata Romana 6, Bucharest, Rumania, 32 n. 10, 431
- Inter-America*, 269
- Inter-America Foundation, c/o James H. Batten, 127 Howard Ave., Claremont, Calif., 124
- Conference of Friends of the Mexicans, 125, 274
- Inter-American Bibliographical Association, c/o James A. Robertson, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., 265, 266, 271
- Inter-American Forum, c/o Curtis Wilgus, George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 271 f.
- "Inter-American Historical Series," 265
- Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation (Cuban National Council), c/o A. Sanchez de Bustamante, Apartado 134, Havana, Cuba, 272
- Intercollegiate Council on International Cooperation, 2929 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 399
- Interdependence of nations, 10
- "International Alcove Libraries," 28
- International American Conference, Sixth, 272
- International Apple Association, The, 1108 Mercantile Bldg., Rochester, N. Y., 148-149
- International Association for Labor Legislation, 53
- International Association of Industrial Accident Boards and Commissions, 53
- International Association of Leather Trade Chemists (D. Purton,

- treasurer), Rose Hill Tannery, Bolton, Eng., 150
- International Business Machines Corporation, 270 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 161
- International Catalogue of Scientific Literature, Regional Bureau for the U. S., 59
- International Chamber of Commerce, 60, 144-145
- 38, Cours Albert 1er, Paris, France (main headquarters)
- Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. Bldg., Connecticut Ave. and H St., Washington, D. C. (American headquarters)
- International civics, *see* Civics, international
- International Clubs in high schools, 310
- International commerce, 131 f.
- International Commercial Policies* (Fisk and Pierce), 181
- International Committee of Historical Sciences, Comité international des sciences historiques, Professor Michel Lhéritier, Le Secrétaire Général, 9 Rue du Printemps, Paris XVII, France, 107-109
- International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 445-447
- "International Conciliation" pamphlets, 28 f. and n. 6, 84
- International Conference of American States
- first, 57
- sixth, 193
- International Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations, 79
- International Conference of the International Statistical Institute at London, 26
- International Conference of Migration Statistics, 53
- International conferences
- reported in Dept. of State publications, 48 f.
- value of, 109 f.
- International Congress of Actuaries, Transactions of the Ninth*, 97
- International Congress of Agricultural Economists, Second, 65
- International Congress of Applied Mechanics, 100
- International Congress on Accounting, 98
- International Consultative Group, c/o Malcolm Davis, 2 Place Butini, Geneva, Switzerland, 428
- International Control of Raw Materials* (Wallace and Edminster), 231 n. 6
- International Cooperation, Ten Years of*, 441
- International Council of Hide Sellers Associations, 84 Leadenhall St., London, E.C. 3, Eng., 150
- International Council of Scientific Unions, 45
- International Council of Tanners, 8 St. Thomas St., London, S.E. 1, Eng., 149-150
- International documentary material, exchange of, 56
- International Economic Policies, A Survey of the Economics of Diplomacy* (Culbertson), 181
- International economic relations
- in college teaching, 181-182
- in graduate school offerings, 182-183
- policies of the United States, investigation of, 41 f.
- research: increase since the War, 185; character of, 186-188; U. S. Government research, 184-185
- International Educational Cinematographic Institute, Rome, 388, 445
- International Educational Pictures, Hamilton Warren, director, 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y., 387
- International Electrotechnical Commission, American National Committee of, 33 West 39th St., New York, N. Y., 100
- International Federation of National Standardizing Agencies, Basle, Switzerland, 101 and n. 18
- International Federation of University Women (American Association of University Women), 1634 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 362
- International Harvester Export Company, 606 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., 160

- International Houses at universities of Columbia, Chicago, and California, 245, 395
- International Industrial Relations Association, Javastraat 66, The Hague, Holland; Mary Van Kleeck, Amer. Vice-President, Russell Sage Foundation, 103 East 22d St., New York, N. Y., 35
- International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 26
- International Institute of Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 West 120th St., New York, N. Y., 412, 415-416
- Internationalism vs. Nationalism, 174-175 and n. 1
- International Joint Commission between the United States and the Dominion of Canada* (Chacko), 291
- International Labor Office
described in *Foreign Policy Report*, 443 n. 6
joint resolution authorizing United States to join, 53 f., 443 n. 6
world outlook of, 172
- International Labor Office, The First Decade of the*, 444
- International Labor Office, The Origins of the*, 29
- International Labor Organization of the League of Nations, Geneva, Washington office, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., 61, 172, 442-444
"Information Series," 444
"Legislative Series," 443
- International Labour Review*, 443
- International law, 172 f., 175, 438
code of private, 193
codification of, 190, 195
courses of study at Harvard, 200
"Need of Popular Understanding of International Law, The" (Root), 192
study of, in the U. S.: by undergraduates, 200; influenced by World War, 199-200; revival at beginning of 20th century, 189-190
teaching of, 193-195
- International law, *see also* International relations
- International Law Association, 2 King's Bench Walk, The Temple, London, E.C. 4, Eng., 101-102, 190-191
(American branch: 64 Wall St., New York, N. Y.)
- International Law, American Journal of*, *see American Journal of International Law*
- International law, inquiries into teaching of, 193-194
- International legislation, *see* International law
- International Management Institute, 2 Boulevard de Theatre, Geneva, Switzerland, 33, 95 f., 100
- International Migrations* (Wilcox), 92
"International Mind Alcoves," 70
- International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. (*also* Edinburgh House, 2 Eaton Gate, S.W. 1, London, Eng.), 381 f.
- International Museums Office, 73
- International New Thought Alliance, 311 Ourway Bldg., Washington, D. C., 356
- International Opium Convention, 441
- International organization, courses in, 199
- International peace before the Civil War, advocates of, 190-191
- International Radio Forum, 392
- International Relations
courses of study, 199-200
institutes, 123-125
reading lists (Library of Congress), 56
research organizations, origin of, 75
study of: academic curriculum, 171-173; and the study of European history, 218 f.; at the University of Chicago, 209-210; by geographers, 175; by historians, 174; by international lawyers, 175; by League of Nations, 172-173; by political scientists, 176; by the government, 173; conferences, 395; coordination of departments for, 208-211; deals with technique of negotiations, 64; doctorate in,

- 201; economic aspects, 174, 180; European subjects predominate, 223, 225; evaluation, 178-179; funds for, 23 f.; in political science departments, 199-203; in economics departments, 207-208; in history departments, 203-207, 223; in teacher training institutions, 333-335; in universities, 64, 65 f.; orientated with American history, 206-207; value of, 12, 40
- teaching of: conclusions of office of Education concerning, 315; coordination of disciplines, 169; determined by location, 211; determined by personality, 211; in Denver schools, 316-317; in elementary schools, 311-312; in extra-curricula activities, 319 f.; in Francis W. Parker School, 321-322; in Iowa, 314; in Kansas, 314, 317-318; in Los Angeles, 318-319; in New York, 313; in progressive private schools, 320-321; in Quaker schools, 322; in Washington, 313 f.; methods of, 177; seminars, 201
- International Relations* (Bowman), 69
- International Relations Clubs, 28, 399-400
- conferences, 126
- International Relations Clubs in Catholic Colleges, 377; International Research Committee, 259 f.
- International Research Council, 45
- International Road Congress of 1930, 148
- International Schoolboy Fellowship, Richard Ballou, secretary, Windsor, Conn.; or W. H. Lillard, Tabor Academy, Marion, Mass., 322-323
- International School of Art, 127 East 55th St., New York, N. Y., 73
- International Society of Christian Endeavor, Christian Endeavor Building, 41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., 356
- International Standards Association (now called International Federation of National Standardizing Agencies), Rennweg 76, Basle, Switzerland, 101
- International Statistical Institute, 2 Oostduinlaan, The Hague, Netherlands, 103
- International Student Committee (Y.W.C.A.), 402-403
- International student exchanges, 406-407
- See also* Fellowships and scholarships
- International student identity card, 410
- International Student Service, 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y., and 13 Rue Calvin, Geneva, Switzerland, 396-397, 427
- International Studies Conference, c/o International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, 2 rue Montpensier, Paris, France, 20, 37, 79, 447, 448-449
- International Studies in Great Britain* (Bailey), 429 n. 13
- International Survey of the Young Men's Christian Association and Young Women's Christian Association*, 371 and n. 15
- International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 67 Broad St., New York, N. Y., 161
- International trade, theory of teaching of, 183
- International Understanding* (Harley), 67 n. 9
- International Union of American Republics, 57
- Inter-Organization Council on Disarmament (Name changed to National Peace Conference), 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y., 349, 351, 428
- Interparliamentary Bulletin*, 353
- Interparliamentary Union; United States Congress of, 734 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.; Union Interparlementaire, 5 Place Claparède, Geneva, Switzerland, 353
- Interracial News Letter*, 358
- Inventions and world economic relationships, 134
- Investment Bankers Association, Foreign Bondholders Protective Council, Inc., 90 Broad St., New York, N. Y., 135

- Iowa, University of, Iowa City, Ia.
Commonwealth Conference, 125
dissertations in preparation, 292
graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 288
- Italy America Society, Waldorf Astoria, New York, N. Y., 420
- Japan, *see* Far Eastern Affairs; Pacific area
- Japan, an Economic and Financial Appraisal* (Moulton), 231 n. 7
- Japan, Christian Education in*, 382 n. 16
- Japanese, *see also* Chinese and Japanese
- Japanese documents and art material, 238 f.
- Japanese language, college training or credit in, 239 f.
- Japanese studies, 245
- Japan Society, Inc., 36 West 44th St., New York, N. Y., 245
- Japan Society of Boston, 44 School St., Boston, Mass., 245
- Japan Society of New Orleans, c/o Neal M. Leach, president, 324 Balter Bldg., New Orleans, La., 245
- Japan Society of San Francisco, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Calif., 245
- Japan Society of Seattle, Skinner Bldg., Seattle, Wash., 245
- Jay Treaty, 1794, 189
- Jefferson, Mark, *Recent Colonization in Chile*, 88
- Jew and His Neighbor, The* (Parkes), 396
- Jewish Congregations of America, Union of Orthodox, 379. *See also* United Synagogue of America
- Jewish Congress, American, 378
- Jewish Committee, American, 378
- Jewish Publication Society of America, S.E. corner Broad St. and Spring Garden St., Philadelphia, Pa., 378
- Jewish Welfare Board (operates Y.W.H.A. and Y.M.H.A.), 71 West 47th St., New York, N. Y., 379
- Jewish Women, National Council of, 379
- Jewish Year Book, American*, 378
- Joerg, W. L. G., 295
- Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.
dissertations on Canadian-American relations, 289
endowed lecture foundations, 422
German seminar introduced by, 65
Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, 127, 201; publications, 127 n. 44; Albert Shaw Lectures, 127 n. 44
- John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, 551 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.
fellowships, 33, 235, 276, 278-279, 408
- Johns-Manville International Corporation, 22 East 40th St., New York, N. Y., 160
- Johnson, Alvin, 411
- Johnson, Henry, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences*, 325
- Joint Committee for Foreign Trade Action, 153
- Jones, Clement, 75 n. 1
- Jordan, David Starr, 68
- Journal of Adult Education*, *see* *Adult Education*, *Journal of*
- Journal of American Statistical Association*, 104
- Journal of Geography*, 292
- Journal of Modern History*, University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill., 105
- Junior Year Abroad, 407
- Keenleyside, Hugh L., *Canada and the United States*, 294
- Kelley, T. L., and A. C. Krey, *Progress in Learning in the Social Science Subjects as Indicated by Tests*, 325
- Kellogg, Louise P., *The French Régime in Wisconsin and the Northwest*, 293
- Kellogg, Frank B., 49
- Kennedy, William Paul McClure, 298
Statutes, Treaties and Documents

- of the Canadian Constitution, 1713-1929*, 294 n. 18
 Kent School, 323
 Keppel, Frederick P.
 Report as president of Carnegie Corporation, 6 n. 13
 The Foundation and Its Place in American Life, 37 n. 13
 Kilpatrick, William Heard, 243;
 quoted, 236, 411
 Kirby, Ford Morgan, *Some Aspects of the Theories and Workings of Constitutional Law*, 298
 Kiwanis International, 520 North Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., 247, 361, 365
 Knudsen, Sven V., 413
 Ko, Ting Tsz, *Governmental Methods of Adjusting Labor Disputes in North America and Australia*, 291
 Kosciuszko Foundation, 149 East 67th St., New York, N. Y., 35, 420
 Krans, Horatio S., 428
 Krey, A. C., and T. L. Keeley, *Progress in Learning in the Social Science Subjects as Indicated by Tests*, 325
 Krueger, Louise (Mrs. Harold Rugg), 320

 Labor, American Federation of, *see* American Federation of Labor
 Labor, Department of, *see* U. S. Labor, Dept. of
 Labor leaders, Institute for, 120 f., 124
 Labor Legislation, American Association of, 345
Labor Review, Monthly, 53
Labour Review, International, 443
 Ladas, Stephen P., *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey*, 115 n. 32
Laissez faire America, 5
 Lake Mohonk Conference, 191
 Langer, William, 78
 Langsam, Walter C., 334
 Lasker, Bruno, 363
 Latimer, Murray W., *Industrial Pension Systems in the United States and Canada*, 96 n. 16
 Latin America, Committee on Research in, 269
 Latin America, interest in
 in Southern universities, 67
 in University of California, 68
Latin America and the War (Martin), 127 n. 44
 Latin-American, *see also* Pan American; Hispanic-American
 Latin-American boundary disputes, 88-89
 Latin-American fellowships, 276-278
 Latin-American relations, 223, 224
 Latin-American source material, 275 f.
 Lattimore, Owen
 author of *Manchuria: Cradle of Conflict*, 235; *Mongols of Manchuria*, 235
 editor of *Pacific Affairs*, 261
 fellowship grants to, 235
 Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 49 West 49th St., New York, N. Y.
 aid to institutional centers through Rockefeller Foundation, 32
 cooperation: with Social Science Research Council, 38, 39; with National Research Council, 38
 funds to Institute of International Education, 271
 professorship of Political Science at Cambridge University, 425
 subventions: to universities, 67; to Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, 116
 Laval, Pierre, 77
 Lawrence College, Appleton, Wis., course in History of Canada, 285-286
 "Laymen's Inquiry" of Missionary work in the Far East, 382 and n. 17
 League for Industrial Democracy, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y., 361-362
 College department, 400
 League of Nations, Geneva, Switzerland
 Advisory Committee for the Protection of Children and Young People, 53
 award from Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34

League of Nations (Cont.)

challenge to students of political science, 199, 203

character and influence of work, 172-173

Committee for the Progressive Codification of International Law, 195

Communications and Transit Organization, 439 f.

conference method, 437

Covenant: Article XVI, 438; Article XXII, 440; Article XVII, 441 n. 5; revision, 450

Economic and Financial Organization, 439; Rockefeller grant for study on double taxation, 31; *World Economic Survey*, 439

European center, 426-435; a league for research, 435 f.

Health Organization, 35, 234, 441

"Holiday Courses in Europe," 416, 417, 418-419

Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, 2 rue de Montpensier, Paris, 447

Conference for the Scientific Study of International Relations, renamed International Studies Conference

Intellectual Cooperation Organization, 445; Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching, 330 and n. 27

International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 445-447; American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation, 37, 449 ff., 451-453

International Labor Organization, 442-444

International Museums Office, 73

International Studies Conference, 20, 37, 79, 447, 448-449

international trusteeship, 440

library, 427

method of preventing war, 14

Minorities committees, 440

Official Journal, 442

Opium Convention, International, 441

Permanent Court of International Justice, 35

League of Nations (Cont.)

Permanent Mandates Commission, 440

Political Section, 437

Report of the League of Nations Mission of Educational Experts on the Reorganization of Education in China, 244

Sanctions, 438

Secretariat, 435, 438, 441

Information Section, 441; *Monthly Summary*, 441; *Ten Years of International Cooperation*, 441

Sub-Committee of Experts on the Instruction of Youth in the Aims and Organization of the League, 330 n. 27

United States represented in the, 436
League of Nations, World Prosperity as Sought through the Economic Work of the (McClure), 439

League of Nations Association, 8
West 40th St., New York, N. Y.,

87, 333-335, 351-352, 400-401, 427

American Committee in Geneva, Club internationale, 4 rue de Montoux, Geneva, Switzerland, 426

award of Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 34

Cooperation with Foreign Policy Association, 87

Educational Committee of, 330 f., 352, 400-401, and International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, 330; "Model League Assemblies," 330 f., 400; National competition high school examinations on League of Nations, 330; Objective, 330; study of teaching of international relations in teacher training institutions, 333-335

films, 387, 388

Geneva Institute of International Relations, 427

information for adult education, 341

Library of International Relations, Chicago, 34, 71

membership and branches, 351-352

publications, 352

Summer School in Geneva (Geneva Institute of International Relations, c/o Malcolm Davis, Dis-

- armament Bldg., Place Britain,
Geneva, Switzerland, 428
- League of Nations Documents, Key to*, 85
- League of Nations Societies, International Federation of, 427
- League of Women Voters, 1015
Grand Central Terminal Bldg.,
New York, N. Y., 82
- Learned societies, bibliography of, 103
n. 21
- Lecture bureaus, noncommercial, list
of, 420
- Lecture foundations, list of, in American
universities and colleges, 421-
424
- Lecturers, foreign, under National
Student Federation, 403
- Lectures on Canadian-American sub-
jects, 298
- Lecture tours in foreign universities
financed by American foundations,
425
- Leland, Waldo G.
comments on international confer-
ences, 109
Report on Union academique inter-
nationale, 43 n. 17
- Leland, Waldo G., and N. D. Mere-
ness, *Introduction to the Ameri-
can Official Sources for the Eco-
nomic and Social History of the
World War*, 47 n. 1
- Levinson, Salmon C., 353
- Lexicon of Political Terms*, 80
- Libby, Frederick J., 357
- Libraries, 62, 69-70
facilities of metropolitan centers,
62-63
library of Carnegie Endowment in
Paris, 173 Boulevard St. Germain,
428
library of Carnegie Endowment in
Washington, 700 Jackson Place,
60-61
library of Columbia University, 32,
62
Library of Congress, *see* U. S. Li-
brary of Congress
library of Harvard University, 62
library of International Relations,
Chicago, 34, 71
- Libraries (Cont.)
library of the League of Nations,
Geneva, 427
library of Royal Institute of Inter-
national Affairs, London, 429
library of Social Science Institute
of the Czechoslovakian Republic,
430
of legislative reference, 70
Libraries, special, 70 f.
American Philosophical Society Li-
brary, 104 South St., Philadel-
phia, Pa., 62
Edwin Ginn Library of World
Peace Foundation, Tufts College,
Medford, Mass., 71, 85, 129
Harvard-Yenching Institute, 17
Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass.,
71
Hoover War Library, Stanford
University, Palo Alto, Calif., 63,
68, 71
Library of International Relations,
86 East Randolph St., Chicago,
Ill., 34, 71
Pan American Union Library, 17th
St. near Constitution Ave., N.W.,
Washington, D. C., 58
Libraries in New York, special, 71
British Library of Information, 270
Madison Ave., N. Y., 71
Council on Foreign Relations, 45
East 65th St., N. Y., 71
Engineers Library, 29 West 39th
St., N. Y., 71
Foreign Policy Association, 8 West
40th St., New York, N. Y., 71
Hispanic Society of New York,
Broadway and 156th St., New
York, N. Y., 71
Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 8
West 40th St., New York, N. Y.,
71
Lieber, Francis, 190
Lind, Andrew, 122
Lindbergh, Charles A., 34
*Linguistic Atlas of the U. S. and Can-
ada*, 43
Linguistic Institute of America, 44,
420
Lions Clubs, 332 South Michigan
Ave., Chicago, Ill., 361, 365

- Lippmann, Walter, *The United States in World Affairs*, 79
- List of Serial Publications of Foreign Governments, 276
- Logan, Harold A., *History of Trade Union Organization in Canada*, 290
- London, 429 f.
- London, University of
Commonwealth Fund professorship, 425
Institute of Historical Research, 107, 429
- London Economic Conference of 1933, 149
- London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London), Houghton St., Aldwych, London, W.C. 2, Eng., 429
and International Studies Conference, 448
doctoral theses in economics, 184
grants from Rockefeller Foundation, 32 n. 10
- Loomis School, 322
- Los Angeles, school program in international relations, 318-319
- Los Angeles University of International Relations, 121-122
Institute of World Affairs, 125
- Louisville, University of, Louisville, Ky.
Conference on Public Affairs, 125
- Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La., 66, 67, 422
- Lovell, Reginald Ivan, *The Struggle for South Africa, 1875-1899; a Study in Economic Imperialism*, 115 n. 32
- Lowell Institute, Boston, Mass., 338, 420
- Lower, A. R. M., and H. A. Innis, *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783-1885*, 294 n. 18, 298
- Lytton Commission, 437
- McBride, G. M., *The Land Systems of Mexico*, 88
- McClure, Wallace, *World Prosperity as Sought Through the Economic Work of the League of Nations*, 439
- McDonald, James G., radio talks, 81, 348
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 77
- McGill University, Montreal, Can., 32 n. 10, 198 n. 3
- McKeel, Haviland Scudder, 297
- MacMurray College, Jacksonville, Ill.,
Institute of Pan American Relations, 125, 274
- MacNair, H. F., quoted, 236
- Madrid, University of, historical studies at, 271
- Mallory, Walter H., 231 and n. 5
China: Land of Famine, 88
- Mandatory powers, 440
- "Manifest Destiny," 6
- Manila, University of, Bureau of Research, 234
- Manning, William Roy, *Nootka Sound Controversy*, 289
- Mantoux, Paul, 427
- Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July, 1931, List of*, 105
- Maps relating to Latin America, 267
- March, Benjamin, *China and Japan in Our Museums*, 238 and n. 16
- Marfleet Lectures, 298-299 and n. 20
- Maritime Law Association (now American Maritime Cases, Inc.), 515 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md., 102
- Maritimes and Canada before Confederation* (Whitelaw), 292
- Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., course on the history of Canada, 285
- Marshall, L. C.
Collegiate School of Business, The, 181 n. 2
survey of teaching of Economics, 181
- Marshall, L. C., and Rachel Marshall Goetz, *A Social Process Approach to Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies*, 325
- Marshall, Thomas Maitland, and Herbert E. Bolton, *The Colonization of North America*, 294
- Martin, Charles E., 68, 122
- Martin, Percy Alvin
author of *Latin America and the War*, 127 n. 44

- Martin, Percy Alvin (Cont.)
 editor of *Who's Who in Hispanic America*, 267
- Masaryk, President Thomas G., 430
- Masonic Clubs, National League of, 128
- Massey, Vincent, 77
 author of *The Making of a Nation*, 299
- Matsuoka, Yosuke, 77
- Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, 39
- Maxwell, James A., 297
- Maya Society, 272
- Meany, Edmond S., 285
- Mediaeval Academy of America, The, John Marshall, executive secretary, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass., 44
- Meloney, Mrs. Wm. Brown, 340
- Mennonite Peace Society, c/o Vivienne S. Musselman, Pretty Prairie, Kan., 376
- Mennonites of North America, General Conference of
 Peace Problems Committee, A. J. Neuenschwander, c/o Mennonite Book Concern, Berne, Ind., 376
- Merchants Association of New York, Woolworth Bldg., New York, N. Y., 147
- Merk, Frederick, *Fur Trade and Empire*, *George Simpson's Journal*, 290
- Merriam, Charles E., *Civic Training in the United States*, 325
- Metropolitan centers, importance of, 14, 61 f.
- Metropolitan Museum, Fifth Ave. at 82d St., New York, N. Y., 72-74, 238 f.
- Mexican Relations, American Foreign Policy in* (Callahan), 297
- Mexicans, Conference of the Friends of the, 274
- Mexico, The Land System of* (McBride), 88
- Mexico, University of, seminar, 274, 417
- Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 66, 118 f.
- Michigan, University of, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 dissertations: in preparation, 292;
 on Canadian-American relations, 290
 doctorate in international relations, 201
 endowed lecture foundation, 422
 international economic relations, study of, 207 f.
 Law School, 66 f.
- Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall St., New York, N. Y., 35, 234
- Miles, James B., 190
- Military Instruction in Universities and Colleges, A Study of Educational Value of*, 324
- Military training in schools, 332-333
- Miller, Hunter, 49
- Milton Academy, Alumni War Memorial Foundation lectures on *The Making of a Nation*, 299
- Mineral inquiry, 101
- Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, American Institute of, *see* American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers
- Minnesota, University of, Minneapolis, Minn., 67, 265
 course on History of Canada, 286
 dissertations in preparation, 292
- Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, The Exchange of* (Ladas), 115 n. 32
- Minority Rights; a Study of the Minorities Procedure in Upper Silesia, Regional Guarantees of* (Stone), 115 n. 32
- Missionary Council, International, *see* International Missionary Council
- Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada, 150
 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 380
- Missions, Rethinking*, 382
- Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 293
- Mitchell, Wesley C., *Business Cycles: the Problem and Its Setting*, 92 n. 14
- "Model League Assemblies," 330 f.
- Model Sessions of the Council, 331

- Modern Constitutions* (Dodd), 293
Modern History, Journal of, 105
 Modern Language Association of America, 100 Washington Square, East, New York, N. Y., 44
Monetary Problems of the British Empire (Harris), 115 n. 32
 Monetary theory, 184
 Monroe, Paul, 243
 Moody's Investors Service, 65 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 141 f.
 Moore, David Richard, *Canada and the United States, 1815-1830*, 290
 Morgan, Mrs. Laura Puffer, 428
 Mormons, *see* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
 Morrison, Charles Clayton, 353
 Morsback, Adolf, 430
 Moscow University, summer course at, 417
 Moses, Bernard, 263
 Motion Picture Chamber of Commerce of America, Inc., 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 147
 Motion picture films, *see* Films
 Motion Picture Research Council, W. H. Short, director, 366 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 378
Motion Pictures on Foreign Countries and on International Relations, 387
 Motor and Equipment Manufacturers Association, The, 250 West 57th St., New York, N. Y., 140
 Moulton, H. G., *Japan, an Economic and Financial Appraisal*, 90, 231 n. 7
 Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., Scholarship for Latin-American students, 278
 Multilateral treaties, 438
 Munro, William Bennett, 68
 American Influences on Canadian Government, 299 and n. 20
 Current Problems in Citizenship, 328
 Documents Relating to the Seigneurial Tenure in Canada, 1598-1854, 293
 Feudal System in Canada: a Study in the Institutional History of the Old Régime, The, 289
 Social Civics, 328
 Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 155th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y., 270
 Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Chinese and Japanese material, 238 f.
 Museum of Modern Art, 11 West 53d St., New York, N. Y., 74
 Museums
 and libraries, cooperation of, 62
 Brooklyn Museums National Fêtes, 73
 education in international relations, 72
 Newark Museum and Public Library, Far Eastern Material, 243
Museums in South America, Directory of (Coleman), 73
 Music Industries Chamber of Commerce, 45 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., 147
 Myers, Denys P., 78, 85
 My Friend Abroad, Sven V. Knudsen, 248 Boylston St., Boston, Mass., 413
 Nankai University, Tientsin, China
 Cooperation with Teachers College, 243
 Institute of Economics, 32 n. 10
 Research center in China, 19
 National Academy of Science, Academy Bldg., 2101 Constitution Ave., Washington, D. C., 44-45 and n. 19
 and National Research Council, 44 f.
 origin of, 45 n. 19
 National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, 60 East 42d St., New York, N. Y., 91, 349 f., 388 n. 19, 391
 National Association of Cost Accountants, 1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 98
 National Association of Credit Men, 1 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., 140
 National Association of Manufacturers of the United States of America, 11 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 140, 155
 National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 366 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 147-148

- National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations, 600 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., 373-374, 402, 420
and the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 354
- National Bureau of Economic Research, 1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 92 and n. 14
- National Catholic Welfare Council, 1312 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C., 377
- National City Bank, The, 55 Wall St., New York, N. Y., 138-139, 141
- National Committee on Education by Radio, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 391
- National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 1116 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York, N. Y., 34, 125, 354-355
conference, 125, 354
object and organization, 354
study program, 355
- National Committee on the Church and World Peace, 370
- National Consumers' League, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 356
- National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 309, 327 n. 26a, 335, 341, 342, 353 f., 356-357, 428
activities in schools, 309, 332
information for adult education, 341, 342
investigation of textbooks, 327 n. 26a
News Bulletin, 357
organization and program, 356-357
- National Council of American Importers and Traders, Inc., 45 East 17th St., New York, N. Y., 153
- National Council of Catholic Men, 1812 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C., 377
- National Council of Catholic Women, 1812 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C., 377
- National Council of Jewish Juniors, 3345 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn., 356
- National Council of Jewish Women, 625 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 86 n. 10, 354, 356, 379
- National Council of Student Christian Associations, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., 401-402
- National Council on Religion in Higher Education, The, 437 West 59th St., New York, N. Y.
fellowships and scholarships, 408
- National Credit Office, The, 2 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., 140
- National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 308, 356
Department of Superintendence: resolutions supporting moral disarmament, 336, 452-453; resolutions supporting measures that might lead to international understanding, 335-336
- National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 670 Lexington Ave., New York, N. Y., International Relations Section, 1819 Broadway, New York, N. Y., 86 n. 10, 364
- National Federation of Foreign Trade Associations, 1 Hanover Square, New York, N. Y., 152 f.
- National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, Merchants Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio, 356, 379
- National Foreign Trade Council, 1 Hanover Square, New York, N. Y., 151-153, 269
- American-Japanese Trade Council, 152
Committee on Inter-American Relations, 152, 269
Council on Inter-American Relations, 152
- National Industrial Conference Board, 247 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., 93-95, 231
- National Institution of Public Affairs, 213-214
- Nationalism, 178
in the schools, 332 f.
- Nationalism vs. internationalism, 173
in government, 173
in education, 173 f.

- National League of Women Voters,
1015 Grand Central Terminal
Bldg., New York, N. Y., 86 n.
10, 354, 364-365, 401
affiliations, 86 n. 10, 354, 364
College Leagues of Women Voters,
401
organization and platform, 364-365
- National Peace Conference Commit-
tee, 8 West 40th St., New York,
N. Y., 351
- National Publishers Association, 232
Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.,
92
- National Reform Association, 209
Ninth St., Pittsburgh, Pa., 356
- National Research Council, 2101 Con-
stitution Ave., Washington, D. C.,
7, 44-46, 60, 90
fellowships, 408
grants from Carnegie Corporation,
26
*Handbook of Scientific and Tech-
nical Societies*, 46 n. 21
migration study, 38
origin, 7, 37, 45
Pacific Science Association, 46
- National Society for the Study of Ed-
ucation, Guy M. Whipple, secre-
tary, Danvers, Mass., *Year Book*,
304
- National Student Council of the
Young Women's Christian Asso-
ciation, 600 Lexington Ave., New
York, N. Y., 402
- National Student Federation of Amer-
ica, 8 West 40th St., New York,
N. Y., 403, 404 and n. 5, 414, 420
- National Student Forum on the Paris
Pact, 532 Seventeenth St., N.W.,
Washington, D. C., 331-332, 404
- National Student League, 476 Broad-
way, New York, N. Y., 404-405
- National system of education, 307
- National Union of Students of Eng-
land and Wales, 414
- National Women's Christian Temper-
ance Union, 1730 Chicago Ave.,
Evanston, Ill., 354
- National Women's Conference of the
American Ethical Union, *see*
American Ethical Union
- National Women's Trade Union
League of America, 306 Machin-
ists' Bldg., Washington, D. C., 86
n. 10, 354, 356
- National World Court Committee,
c/o Charles C. Bauer, 330 West
42d St., New York, N. Y., 352-
353
- Native Problem in Africa, The*,
(Buell), 115 n. 32
- Netherland-American Foundation, 274
Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.,
35 f.
- Netherlands Chamber of Commerce in
New York, Inc., 405 Lexington
Ave., New York, N. Y., 146
- Neutrality, 6, 7
- Nevada, University of, Reno, Nev.,
course in History of the Amer-
icas, 282
- New England Institute of Interna-
tional Relations at Wellesley Col-
lege, arranged by American
Friends Service Committee, 120
Boylston St., Boston, Mass., 124
- New History Society, 132 East 65th
St., New York, N. Y., 399
- New Jersey Committee on the Cause
and Cure of War, 125
- Newlon, Jesse H., *School Administra-
tion and Educational Leadership*,
325
- Newman Clubs, 398
- New Orleans Association of Com-
merce, New Orleans, La., 147
- News agents at Geneva, organizations
having, 386
- News broadcasts, 390 f.
- Newspaper Alliance, North American,
384
- News reels, 387
- News Service, International, 384
- News services, 384
- New School for Social Research, 66
West 12th St., New York, N. Y.,
110, 338, 425-426
- New York (City) Board of Trade,
41 Park Row, New York, N. Y.,
147
- New York (state)
regents examinations, influence of,
309
schools, 313

- New York State Syllabus in History*, 313
- New York Herald Tribune*, Women's Conference on Current Problems, 340
- New York University, New York, N. Y., 135, 422
- Institute of International Finance, 135
- Nichols, Roy, 267
- Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation, 117, 122, 210, 299
- North America, history of, 283
- North America, The Colonization of* (Bolton and Marshall), 294
- North America, 1492-1806, The Explorers of* (Brebner), 294
- North America, Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting* (Stock), 293
- North America and Australia, Governmental Methods of Adjusting Labor Disputes in* (Ko), 291
- North American Newspaper Alliance, 384
- North Carolina, University of, Chapel Hill, N. C., 67
- course on Latin America, 263
- endowed lecture foundation, 423
- grants from Rockefeller Foundation, 32 n. 10
- "Inter-American Historical Series," 265
- Library School, 66
- North Dakota, University of, Grand Forks, N. D.
- Canadian-American relations, teaching of, 281
- course on history of Canada, 285
- Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- "American Diplomacy," 206-207
- courses on: Latin America, 263; History of the Americas, 282
- Institute of American Friends Service, 121
- Notgemeinschaft der deutschen Wissenschaft, C 2 Schloss, Portal III, Berlin, 31, 430
- Notre Dame, University of, Notre Dame, Ind.
- course on Latin America, 263
- Nute, Grace Lee, 281
- Oberlander Trust (Merged with Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 225 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.), 36
- Ochs, Adolph S., 43 and n. 18
- Ogg, Frederick Austin, *Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 103 n. 21
- Ohio Federation of Women's Clubs fellowship, 278
- Ohio School of the Air, 63, 392
- Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 66, 285
- Open Road, The, 56 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., 414-415
- Opinion, importance of political, 14
- Opium Convention, International, 441
- Opportunity School, Denver, Colo., 338
- Oregon, University of, Eugene, Ore., 68
- Ores and Industry in the Far East* (Bain), 101
- Overseas Trading Data Sheets*, 154
- Organization of International Intellectual Cooperation, *see* League of Nations
- Organization of research, need for, 16
- Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 72
- Oriental society, American, *see* American oriental society
- Oriental Students, in American Schools, Chart of, 244
- Oriental Students, Institute of, 245
- Orient and Occident* (Watson), 324 and n. 11
- Orientation courses, 202 f.
- Origins of the International Labor Organization*, 29
- Oxford University, England
- Eastman Visiting Professorship at, 425
- economic doctoral theses, 184, 429
- Pacific, An Economic Handbook of the*, 261-262
- Pacific, Problems of the*, 261
- Pacific Affairs*, 261
- Pacific area, *see also* Far Eastern topics; *also* China, and Japan
- East vs. West, 224
- European and American expansion in the, 224 f.

- Pacific Area (Cont.)
 study of: associations for, 46, 230-231; inadequate, 236-237; materials for study inadequate, 238; methods of increasing, 237
- Pacific Area in International Relations, The*, (Condliffe), 69
- Pacific Coast institutes, 126
- Pacific Historical Review*, J. C. Parish, managing editor, University of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., 105
- Pacific problems and international politics, Correlation of, 256-257
- Pacific Science Association, 46, 233
- Pacific Science Congress, 46. *See also* Committee on Pacific Investigations of National Research Council
- Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, Convention of 1899 for the, 189
- Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; Post-War Treaties for the* (Habicht), 115 n. 32
- Pacifist organizations
 American Peace Society, 358-360
 Fellowship of Reconciliation, 358
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 357-358
 World Peaceways, 358
- Pacifists, 376
- Pack (Charles Lathrop) Forest Education Board, 1214 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington, D. C., 408
- Pact of Paris, 355, 439
- Paleographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to 800 A.D.* (Lowe), 43
- Pan American Highway Conference of 1924, 148
- Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Avenida del observatorio No. 192, Tacubaya, D. F., Mexico, 272 f.
- Pan American League of Miami, 548 Seybold Bldg., Miami, Fla., 274
- Pan American Magazine* (No longer published, but back numbers may be secured from G. T. Brazelton, 1935 Biltmore St., Washington, D. C.), 270, 275
- Pan American Round Tables, c/o Mrs. J. C. Griswold, 111 Park Lane, San Antonio, Tex., and Mrs. C. C. Chase, 1725 Arizona St., El Paso, Tex., 250 f.
- Pan American Scientific Congress, 58 second, 192
 third, 193
- Pan American Society, Inc., The, 67 Broad St., New York, N. Y., 273
- Pan American Student, The*, 273, 405
- Pan American Student League of New York, DeWitt Clinton Bldg., Mosholu Parkway and Navy Ave., New York, N. Y., 405
- Pan American Union, 17th between Constitution St. and C St., Washington, D. C., 56-58, 264, 266 f., 273, 332
 activities in schools, 332
 Advisory Committee on Bibliography, 266
 Bibliographical Series, 266 f.
 Bulletin, 58, 275
 cooperation: in the Pacific area, 233; with American Institute of International Law, 58
 Division of Education, 273
 Division of Intellectual Cooperation, 267, 273
 Governing Board, 56 f.
 Library, 58, 267
 Secretariat of the Union of American Republics, 57
- Pan Pacific Union, 228 n. 2, 233
- Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, Russia, 1917-1918* (published 1931-1933), 49
- Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, World War Supplement* (published 1931-1933), 49
- Paris, 428-429
- Paris Museum of Natural History, Jardin des Plantes, Paris, France, 72
- Parker, David W., *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives*, 293
- Parker School of International Affairs, Columbia University, New York, N. Y., 128 f.

- Passport statistics, 409
 Patent agreements, 133-134
Patents and Trademarks Owned by United States Manufacturers, the Effect of British Tariff upon British, 154
 Pathé Exchange, 35 West 45th St., New York, N. Y., 387
 Patriotic societies, influence in schools, 332-333
 Patton, Harold Smith, *Grain Growers Co-operation in Western Canada*, 291
 Pax Romana, Fribourg, Switzerland, 398
 Peace Association of Friends in America, 615 National Rd. W., Baltimore, Md., 356
 Peace Conference, documentary history of American participation in the Paris, 29
 Peace Film Foundation, 150 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 387
 Peace movement, 6-7, 10. *See also* American Peace Society
 Peace societies, policies of, 360 f.
 Pennsylvania, University of, Philadelphia, Pa.
 course on Latin America, 263
 dissertations: in Canadian-American relations, 290; in economics, 183, 184; in preparation, 292
 endowed lecture foundation, 423
 "Translations and Reprints Series," 267
 University Museum, 72
 Peoples Institute, 70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 338
 Permanent Court of Arbitration, 189, 190
 Permanent Court of International Justice, American adherence to, 35
 Person, H. S., 96
 Philadelphia Museum, 154-155
 Pierce, Bessie Louise
 Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth, 309 n. 2, 325, 333 n. 1
 Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks, 242 f., 325-327, 330
 Pierce, Palmer E., 269
Pioneer Fringe, The (Bowman), 295
Pioneer Settlements, 88, 90, 295
 "Planned economy," 13
 Pocono Peoples College, Henryville, Pa., 410
 Polish American Chamber of Commerce in Warsaw, Warsaw, Poland, 146
 Polish Arts Club of Chicago, 74
Political Handbook of the World (Mallory), 79
 Political science, study of, 8
Political Science Quarterly, 112 f., 335
 Political Section of the League of Nations, 437
 Politics, practical, 13 f.
 Politis, Nicolas, 429
 Pollard, A. F., 107, 429
 Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
 endowed lecture foundation, 423
 Inter-American Foundation, 124 f.
Position of Foreign States before Belgian Courts, The (Allen), 115 n. 32
 Portuguese language study, 271
 Postal Union, Universal, 439
 Postgraduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, *see* Graduate Institute of International Studies
 Poznan (Posen), University of, Sociological Institute of, 431
 Prague,
 Social Science Research Institute of the Czechoslovakian Republic, 430
Prairie Settlement: the Geographical Setting (Mackintosh), 295-296
 Press, The, 384-387
 Press associations, intercollegiate, 395
 Price, Ernest B., *The Russo-Japanese Treaties of 1707-1916 Concerning Manchuria and Mongolia*, 127 n. 44
 Priestley, Herbert Ingram
 Institute of International Relations, 124
 The Coming of the White Man, 294
 Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 64, 65, 265
 dissertations on Canadian-American relations, 290, 292
 endowed lecture foundation, 423
 "Joint Canadian Field Trip," 287 f.
 School of Public International Affairs, 34, 127, 201

- Princeton University (Cont.)
 Young Democratic Clubs, 362
 Pritchett, John Perry, 281
 Professorships, American endowed,
 424-425
 Progressive education, 202
 Progressive private schools, 320-322
*Publications of the Department of
 State: a List Cumulative from
 October 1, 1929, 50*
Public Debts and State Succession
 (Feilchenfeld), 115 n. 32
 Puerto Rico, University of, Rio
 Piedras, P. R., 271, 417
 Putnam, Herbert, 54
- Quaker Schools, 316, 322
 Quigley, Harold S., *An Introductory
 Syllabus on Far Eastern Diplo-
 macy*, 237 n. 15
 Quivira Society, c/o George P. Ham-
 mond, University of Southern
 California, Los Angeles, Calif.,
 274
- Rabbinical Assembly of America, 270
 West 89th St., New York, N. Y.,
 356
 Race Relations Institute, 124
 Race relations studied, 122
Racial Contacts and Social Research,
 110
 Radio
 broadcasts: of Foreign Policy As-
 sociation, 348; of National Stu-
 dent Federation, 403
 in education, 91, 391, 450-451
 radio sets, number of, 389
 regulation of, 388-389 and n. 20
 Radio Act, 1927, 388
 Radio Commission, Federal, 388, 390
 Radio Committee of the World Asso-
 ciation for Adult Education, 391
 Radio Forum, International, 392
 Rappard, William, 427
 Raup, R. Bruce, *Education and Or-
 ganized Interests*, 325
*Raw Materials and Foodstuffs in the
 Commercial Policies of Nations*,
 113
 Rawleigh Foundation, Freeport, Ill.,
 35
- Reciprocal Tariff Negotiations and
 Types of Bargaining*, 144
*Recommendations as to the Pan
 American Conference at Monte-
 video*, 85
*Recommendations of the Committee
 on Foreign Policy*, 86
*Recommendations Regarding the Fu-
 ture of the Philippines*, 86
 Regional fields defined, 223, 225
 Red Cross, American, 315 Lexington
 Ave., New York, N. Y., 344, 441
 Red Cross, Junior, 17th and E St.,
 N.W., Washington, D. C., 332,
 344
*Red Cross, the Administration of the
 International School Correspond-
 ence of the Junior* (Sackett),
 324 and n. 9
 Religious organizations, 361, 367-368
 Remer, C. F., 211
*A Study of Chinese Boycotts with
 Special Reference to Their Eco-
 nomic Effectiveness*, 127 n. 44
 Research, in international relations,
 15-16, 18, 132
*Research in Native American Lan-
 guages*, 43
 Research in Population Problems, 66
*Research in the Humanities and Social
 Sciences* (Ogg), 103 n. 21
*Research in International Law since
 the World War* (Wright), 196
 Retail Credit Company of Atlanta,
 The, Atlanta, Ga., 140
Rethinking Missions, 382
Revista de estudios hispánicos (no
 longer published), 271
*Revue de l'Institut international de
 statistique*, The Hague, The Neth-
 erlands, 103
*Revue internationale du sciences ad-
 ministratives*, Brussels, Belgium,
 98
 Rice Institute, Houston, Tex., 423
 Richardson, Ernest C., 276
 Riddell, William Renwick
 *The Constitution of Canada in Its
 History and Practical Working*,
 298
 *The Canadian Constitution in Form
 and Fact*, 298

- Roberts, George E., 138
 Robertson, W. S., 263, 265 f.
 Robinson, James Harvey
 History of the Intellectual Class in Western Europe, 204
 Medieval and Modern Times, 328
 Rockefeller Foundation, The, 49 West 49th St., New York, N. Y., 30-32, 42
 China Medical Board, 246
 Division of Social Sciences, 30, 31
 fellowships, 31, 408
 financial assistance to: Council for Research, Columbia University, 116; Foreign Policy Association, 30, 83; Geneva Research Center, 31, 427; German professors, 426; Graduate Institute of International Studies, 31, 427; Institutul Roman, Bucharest, 32 n. 10, 431; Institute of Pacific Relations, 30, 234; Royal Institute of International Affairs, 30, 429; Social Science Research Council, 31, 39; Social Science Research Institute of Czechoslovakia, 430
 grants-in-aid to scholars, 32
 International Health Section, 246
 social science program, 30, 246
 Rockefeller, John D., 24
 Rockefeller, John D., Jr., 195
 Rockefeller Memorial, Laura Spelman, *see* Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial
 Rogers, Walter S., 80
 Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida, Institute of Statesmanship, 274
 Roman Catholic Church, missionary activities of the, 382-383
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 31, 42
 Roosevelt administration
 and the Dept. of Commerce, 159-160
 and the Securities Act of 1933, 136
 Roosevelt Professorship at the University of Berlin, 424
 Root, Elihu, 190
 president of Carnegie Endowment, 27
 president of American Society of International Law, 192
 Woodrow Wilson Foundation Award, 34
 Roper, Daniel C., 160
 Rose, William J., 431
 Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill., 36, 39, 234
 Rotary International, 211 West Walker Drive, Chicago, Ill., 247, 365-367
 Round tables, 355
 at Institute of Pacific Relations, 250 ff.
 at Williamstown Institute of Politics, 119-120
 on Canadian-American Relations, 299
 Rowe, Leo S., 264, 268
 Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House, St. James's Square, London, Eng., 429
 and International Studies Conference, 448
 grant from Rockefeller Foundation, 31
 library of, 429
 origin of, 76
 relations to Institute of Pacific Relations, 229
 Royal Society of Canada, Lawrence J. Burpee, secretary, International Joint Commission, Ottawa, Can., 296-297
 Rugg, Harold Ordway
 author of "Social Science Course" textbooks, 328
 collector of material on Chinese culture, 243
 Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d St., New York, N. Y., 35, 39
Russo-Japanese Treaties of 1707-1916 Concerning Manchuria and Mongolia (Price), 127 n. 44
 Sackett, Everett B., *The Administration of the International School Correspondence of the Junior Red Cross*, 324 and n. 9
 Sanctions, 438
 Salter, Sir Arthur, 77, 439
 Saar Valley, 440
 Scandinavian Workers School, International Labor Office, Geneva, Switzerland, 427 n. 11
 Schneebeli, Max H., 397
 Science, 10, 11

- Schacht, Hjalmar, 77
 Schmidt, Carl, *German Business Cycles*, 92
 Schmidt-Ott, Dr., 430
 Schmitt, Bernadotte E., *The Coming of the War, 1914*, 220 n. 17
 Scholarships, *see* Fellowships and scholarships
 Scholastic Cooperation, 331 f.
 School of Pacific and Oriental Affairs, *see* Hawaii, University of
 School of Public Affairs, *see* American University
 School of Public International Affairs, Princeton University, 127, 201
 Schools
 in Iowa, 314
 in Kansas, 314, 317-318
 in Washington (state), 313 f.
 School systems, 307-310
Schools and International Understanding, The (Stoker), 167
 Scott, James Brown
 director of Division of International Law of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 27, 29
 president of American Institute of International Law, 192
 president of American Society of International Law, Third, 192
 president of Association for Honoring the Liberators of the Nations of America, First, 268
 quoted, 360
 Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 119
 Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, Wash., 73
 Secretariat of the League of Nations, 435, 438, 441
 Securities Act of 1933, 136
 Security, Collective, 438
Security and the League of Nations, State (Williams), 127 n. 44
 Selekmán, Ben Morris, *Postponing Strikes, a Study of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of Canada*, 291
 Seminar in Mexico, 112 East 19th St., New York, N. Y., 417
 Seminars, 200, 232
 Service Clubs, 344, 361, 365
 Seymour, Charles, *American Diplomacy during the World War*, 127 n. 44
 Shepherd, William R., 204, 263
 Short, William H., 387
 Shotwell, James T.
 author of *The Heritage of Freedom*, 299 and n. 20
 Chairman of Committee on International Relations of Social Science Research Council, 40
 director of Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 27
 on international committees, 75 n. 1, 109 n. 27
 plan for research in Canadian-American relations, 300
 Siccawei Observatory, Shanghai, China, 234
 Sinclair, Gregg, 122
 Smith, William Roy, 284
 Smith College, Northampton, Mass., Junior Year Abroad, 407
 Smithsonian Institution, 58-60
 Sons of the American Revolution, 1227 16th St., Washington, D. C., 333
 Social concepts, 323
Social Concepts, Children's, 323 n. 6
 Social events, measuring of, 4
Social Research: an International Quarterly of Political and Social Science, 110
 Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Ave., New York, N. Y., 19-20, 37-42
 Advisory Committee on International Relations, policy of, 168
 Advisory Committee on Interracial Relations, 40
 Advisory Committee on Pioneer Belts, 40
 Commission for Coordination of French Institutes for the Scientific Study of International Relations originated by, 429
 Committee of Inquiry on National Policy in International Economic Relations appointed by, 41 f.
 Committee on International Relations, 40

- Social Science Research Council
(Cont.) [40
Committee on Problems and Policy,
Cooperation with: American Geo-
graphical Society, 90; Committee
on Research on Latin America,
269 f.; Laura Spelman Rockefel-
ler Memorial Foundation, 38;
Norman Wait Harris Foundation,
117
courses in Hispanic-American af-
fairs, survey of, 265
Decennial Report, 1923-1930, 38
n. 14
fellowships, 276, 407, 408
grants: character of, 196; received
from, 31, 39
grants-in-aid to: study and publica-
tion in Canadian-American rela-
tions, 297-298; studies in pioneer
settlements, 296
health work in Pacific Area, 234
origin, 7, 37, 38, 111
Pacific Coast section of, 68 f.
planning of, 169-170
*Research in International Law since
the World War* (Wright), 196
research in international relations
in Eastern and Central Europe,
program of, 431
Social Science Research Institute of
the Czechoslovakian Republic, Li-
brary of, 430
Social sciences
study of, 7 f., 12, 18
tendency to emphasize an interna-
tional viewpoint, 174
trend in, 171
*Social Sciences, Research in the Hu-
manities and* (Ogg), 103 n. 21
Social Sciences as School Subjects
(Tryon), 325
Social Studies, The, 106
Social Studies, The Teacher of the
(Bagley), 325
Social Studies in the Schools, Com-
mission on, Reports of, 325
Social Trends (Report of the Presi-
dent's Research Committee), 3
and n. 1
Society for Japanese Studies, c/o
Louis Ledoux, 155 6th Ave., New
York, N. Y., 245
Society of Friends, 101 South 8th St.,
Richmond, Ind., and 20 South
12th St., Philadelphia, Pa., 374-
375. *See also* General Conference
of the Religious Society of
Friends; American Friends Serv-
ice Committee; Peace Association
of Friends in America
Society to Eliminate Economic Causes
of War, Wellesley, Mass., 356
Sociological Institute of the Univer-
sity of Poznan, 431
Sociologists, opportunity in the study
of international relations, 174-175
*Sociology and Social Research; an
International Journal*, 110
Soong, T. V., 77
Sorbonne, Chair of Literature and
Civilization of the United States,
425
*South Africa, 1875-1899, The Strug-
gle for* (Lovell), 115 n. 32
*South America, Directory of Muse-
ums in* (Coleman), 73
*South America Looks at the United
States* (Haring), 115 n. 32
South American Magazine, The, 275
Southard, Frank A., Jr., *American
Industry in Europe*, 133 n. 1
Sovereignty, meaning of, 4
Soviet Rule in Russia (Batsell), 115
n. 32
Soviet Russia, 1917-1933 (Dean), 86
n. 9
*Social Science Subjects as Indicated
by Tests, Progress in Learning in
the* (Krey and Kelley), 325
*Soviet Union, The Controlling Factors
in the Relation between the United
States and the*, 35
Spanish language, study of, 271
*Special Collections in North Amer-
ican Libraries* (Richardson), 276
Special Libraries Association, 345
Hudson St., New York, N. Y., 72
Spykman, Nicholas John, 211-212
Squire, Benjamin Mark, *Operation of
the Industrial Disputes Investiga-
tion Act of Canada*, 291
*St. Lawrence Waterway as a Factor
in International Trade and Poli-
tics* (Brown), 290

- Standard Statistics Company, Inc.,
345 Hudson St., New York, N. Y.,
141
- Stanford University, Palo Alto, Calif.
course on the History of Canada,
285
dissertations in preparation, 292
doctorate in international relations,
201
endowed lecture foundation, 423
financial grants, 32 n. 10
Food Research Institute, 68, 117-
118
history program, 205-206
Hoover War Library, 63, 68, 71
- State Universities, strength and excellence of, 66
- Statistical Association, Journal of American*, 104
- Statistics concerning summer schools in Europe, 416
- Stewart, Boyce M., *A Study of Canadian Labor Laws*, 291
- Stimson, Henry L., 78
- Stock, Leo Francis, editor of *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*, 293
- Stockholm, University of, 32 n. 10
- Stoker, Spencer, *The Schools and International Understanding*, 167
- Stone, Julius, *Regional Guarantees of Minority Rights; a Study of the Minorities Procedure in Upper Silesia*, 115 n. 32
- Story of Our American People, The*, 333
- Student Christian Associations, National, 401-402
- Student Christian Federation, World, 401
- Study Conferences, International, 396
- Student Federation, National, *see* National Student Federation
- Student Forum on the Paris Pact, National, *see* National Student Forum on the Paris Pact
- Student Identity Card, International, 410
- Student League, National, *see* National Student League
- Student journals
College News, 405
- Student journals (Cont.)
Intercollegian, 401, 402
Interracial News Bulletin, 402
More Facts (I.S.S.), 396
Newman News, 398
Student Outlook (League for Industrial Democracy), 400
Student Review (National Student League), 405
Student World (National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A.), 402
- Student League of New York, Pan American, *see* Pan American Student League of New York
- Student movement in the United States, 394-395
- Student organizations, impracticality of, 393 f.
- Student Service, International, *see* International Student Service
- Student Work Camps in Europe, *see* International Student Service
- Students, provincialism of American, 395
- Students' International Union, 46 route de Serney, Geneva, Switzerland, and 522 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y., 420-427
- Studies Conference, International *see* League of Nations
- Study groups, 86 n. 10
American Association of University Women, 362
Council of Women for Home Missions, 381
Foreign Missions Conference, 381
Foreign Policy Association, 348-349
General Federation of Women's Clubs, 363 f.
League of Nations Association, 352
National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, 354
National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 364
Y.M.C.A., 372
Y.M.H.A., 379
Y.W.C.A., 373
Y.W.H.A., 379
- Study of New England Speech*, 43
- Subject Index to the Economic and Financial Documents of the League 1927 to 1930*, 85

- Summer Institute for Social Progress
(sponsored by Wellesley Alum-
næ), c/o Seal Thompson, Hallo-
well House, Wellesley College,
Wellesley, Mass., 120, 125
- Summer schools
in Europe, 416, 418-419
in Latin America, 417
Latin American and Hawaiian, 417,
419
League of Nations, "Holiday
Courses," 416, 418-419
number of courses in, 419
- Sumner, *Folkways*, 65
- Sun-Maid Raisin Growers Associa-
tion, Fresno, Calif., 157
- Survey of American Foreign Rela-
tions*, 79
- Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.
endowed lecture foundation, 423
Institute of Race Relations, 124
- Sweetser Arthur, 441
- Swiggett, Glen Levin, 363
- Symposiums vs. lectures, 419-420
- Tanners' Council of America, 100
Gold St., New York, N. Y., 149-
150
- Tanners, International Council of, *see*
International Council of Tanners
- Tansill, Charles Callen
The Canadian Reciprocity Treaty of
1854, 289
The Purchase of the Danish West
Indies, 127 n. 44
- Tariff Commission, studies of foreign
relations, 50
- Tariffs and business, 131, 159, 161
- Taylor, Alonzo E., director of Food
Research Institute, 117-118
- Taylor Society, The, 29 West 39th
St., New York, N. Y., 95
- Teacher and Student Exchange with
China and Japan, 244
- Teachers of international law, national
conferences of, 194-195
- Teachers of Spanish, American Asso-
ciation of, 271
- Teachers' organizations, influence of,
308
- Teacher-training institutions
influence of, 308
- Teacher-training institutions (Cont.)
study of international relations in,
333-335
Teaching of Economics in the U. S.,
181
- Technology, export of, 133-134
- Temperley, H. W. V., 75 n. 1
- Test of International Attitudes* (Neu-
mann, Kulp, and Davidson), 324
- Tests, Progress in Learning in the So-
cial Science Subjects as Indicated*
by (Kelley and Krey), 325
- Texas, University of, Austin, Tex.,
course on Spanish Civilization, 263
exchange professorships, 67, 276
Farmer Foundation, 67
Farmer International Scholarship
Fund, 277
grants from Rockefeller Founda-
tion, 32 n. 10
- Texas Christian University, Fort
Worth, Tex., course on the His-
tory of Canada, 285
- Textbooks
importance in American schools,
308, 325
lists, 327-328
on History of Canada, 294
selection of, 308
summary of Dr. Pierce's study on,
325-327
- Text-Books in Relation to Interna-
tional Understanding, History*
Teaching and School, 327
- Theses in international economic re-
lations, 183
- Thorp, William, *Business Annals*, 92
- Thurstone, L. L., 324
- Tiffany, Owen Edward, *Relations of*
the United States to the Canadian
Rebellion of 1837-1838, 290 n. 11
- Tigert, John J., *A Practical Pro-
gramme of Education for the Pro-
motion of International Good-
Will*, 324
- Toledo Museum, Toledo, Ohio, 73
- Trade associations, 147-151
- Trade Union League, National Wo-
men's, 306 Machinists' Bldg.,
Washington, D. C., 86 n. 10, 354,
356
- Trade Union Pension Systems* (Lati-
mer), 96 n. 16

- Travel, general character of, 394, 409-410
- Travel agencies, educational, 396, 409-416
- Trade associations, 147
- Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, 49
- Treaty of Washington, 1871, 189
- Trimble, Joseph William, *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire*, 290 n. 12
- Trotter, Reginald George
author of: "British Government and the Proposal of Federation in 1858," 298; *Canadian Federation, Its Origins and Achievement; a Study in Nation-Building*, 290; *History of Canada: a Syllabus and Guide to Reading*, 285
"Canadian History in the Universities of the United States," 285 n. 3
Traveling fellow, 295
- Trovel, Oliver Leonard, *State Control of Secondary Education*, 308 n. 1
- Tryon, Rollo M., *The Social Sciences as School Subjects*, 325
- Tufts College, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 129; library of, 71
- Tulane University, New Orleans, La., 67
- Twentieth Century Fund, 11 West 42d St., New York, N. Y., 33, 34 n. 1
American Foundations and Their Fields, 23
Committee on Economic Sanctions, 33
- Tyson, Levering, 388 n. 19, 391
- Union académique internationale, Palais Mondial, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, Belgium, 42 n. 17, 107
- Union interparlementaire, *see* Interparliamentary Union
- Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Amsterdam Ave. and 186th St., New York, N. Y., 379
- Unitarian and Other Church Women, General Alliance of, *see* General Alliance of Unitarian and Other Church Women
- United States (Government)
Archives Building, The, 54
Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 50-52, 53, 155, 159-160, 247
Department of Agriculture, 51
Department of Labor, 53
Department of State, 48-50, 409, 436
Freer Gallery, 238 f.
Government printing office, 51
Library of Congress, 54-56, 70; Chinese and Japanese collections, 70, 232, 238; list of American doctoral dissertations, 214; *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July 1931*, 105; Union catalogue, 70, 276
Navy Department, 45
Office of Education, 309, 313-315, 338
Publications: catalogues of public documents, 50, 54 n. 5; Congressional documents, 54; Documents on International Economic Relations, 185; *Weekly List of Selected Government Publications*, 50
research in international economic relations, 184-185
Smithsonian Institution, 58-60
War Department, 45
"United States and the League," 252
United States and the League of Nations, 435 f.
United States in World Affairs, The (Lippmann), 79
United States Rubber Co., 161
United Synagogue of America, N.E. Corner Broadway and 122d St., New York, N. Y., 357
Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 287 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y., 369
Universal Postal Union, 439
University Film Foundation, c/o Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 387

- University in a Changing World, The*, 396
- Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall), 412
- Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., 67
- Van Kleeck, Mary, 35
- Van Zeeland, Paul, *A view of Europe, 1932: an Interpretative Essay on Some Workings of Economic Nationalism*, 127 n. 44
- Veterans of Foreign Wars, Broadway at 34th St., Kansas City, Mo.; N. Y. branch, 32 Union Square, New York, N. Y., 333
- Viner, Jacob, 169, 208
Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness, 1900-1913; an Inductive Study in the Theory of International Trade, 291
- Virginia, University of, Charlottesville, Va., 67
Academy of World Economics, 113
endowed lecture foundation, 423
grants from Rockefeller Foundation, 32 n. 10
Institute of Public Affairs, 114, 125, 274
- Wallace, Henry A., *America Must Choose*, 86
- Wallace, Henry M., 77
- Waln, Nora, *House of Exile*, 248
- Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., 127
Albert Shaw Lectures, 127 n. 44
"Publications," 127 n. 44
- Warren, Hamilton, 387
- War Resisters' International, 11 Abbeey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, Eng., 406
- War Resisters' League, Jessie Wallace Hughan, secretary, 171 West 12th St., New York, N. Y.
Committee on Student Enrollment, 405-406
- Warsaw Convention of 1929 (Aeronautics), 148
- Washington, D. C., development as a research center, 47
- Washington, University of, Seattle, Wash., 68
courses: in Canadian-American trade relations, 281; in history of Canada, 285; in political science courses, 200-201
endowed lecture foundation, 423
graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 288
- Watson, Goodwin B., *Orient and Occident—an Opinion Study*, 324 and n. 11
- Webb-Pomerene Associations, 156
- Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass.
New England Institute, 124
Summer Institute for Social Progress, 120, 125
- Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.
George Slocum Bennett Foundation, 423
The United States and Canada, 299
- Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, 66, 423
Cleveland College, 63
"Wheat Studies," 118
- White, Andrew D., 65
- Whitelaw, William Menzies, *The Maritimes and Canada before Confederation*, 292
- Who's Who in Hispanic America* (ed. by P. A. Martin), 267
- Wilgus, A. Curtis, 264-268
- Williams, Bruce, *State Security and the League of Nations*, 127 n. 44
- Williams, Mary Wilhelmina, 285
- Williamstown Institute of Politics, 119-120, 274
- Wilson, G. G., 200
- Wilson, Woodrow
and the creation of the National Research Council, 45
influence of leadership, 9
president of Princeton University, 65
- Winter, Lev, 430
- Wisconsin, University of, Madison, Wis., 67, 265
dissertations in Canadian-American relations, 294
graduate work in Canadian-American relations, 289

- Wisconsin, University of (Cont.)
 international economic relations,
 study of, 207
- Wise, Stephen S., 378
- Wittke, Carl, 285
- author of *History of Canada*, 294
- Woman's Christian Temperance
 Union, 1730 Chicago Ave., Evans-
 ton, Ill.; 156 Fifth Ave., New
 York, N. Y., 374
- Woman's Press*, 373, 402
- Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox
 Jewish Congregations of Amer-
 ica, Amsterdam Ave. and 186th
 St., New York, N. Y., 357
- Women's Conference on Current
 Problems, *Herald Tribune*, New
 York, N. Y., 340
- Women's International League for
 Peace and Freedom, Jackson
 Place, Washington, D. C., 354,
 356, 357-358
- Women's League of the United Syn-
 agogue of America, Broadway
 and 122d St., New York, N. Y.,
 357
- Women's Missionary Union of
 Friends in America, 4815 Battery
 Lane, Bethesda, Md., 356, 375
- Women's Peace Society, 20 Vesey St.,
 New York, N. Y., 354, 399
- Women's Peace Union, United States
 Section, 4 Stone St., New York,
 N. Y., 354
- Women's secular organizations, 362
- Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 8 West
 40th St., New York, N. Y., 34,
 71
 awards of, 34
 cooperation with Foreign Policy
 Association, 87
 library, 71
- Woodrow Wilson Memorial Library,
 34
- Wooster, College of, Wooster, Ohio
 Institute of International Relations,
 125
 lecture foundation, 424
- Worcester Museum, Worcester, Mass.,
 72, 74
- Workmen's Insurance and Compens-
 ation Systems in Europe*, 53
- World Adrift, The* (Buell), 86 n. 9
- World Affairs*, 358
- "World Affairs Pamphlets," 86
- World Alliance for International
 Friendship through the Churches,
 American Council of the, 70 Fifth
 Ave., New York, N. Y., 368-369
- World Association for Adult Educa-
 tion, 16 Russell Square, London
 W.C. 1, Eng., 339
- Radio Committee of, 391
- World Citizenship programs, 320-321
- World Cooperation, Ten Years of*,
 444
- World Court, *see* Permanent Court
 of International Justice
- World Court Committee, National,
 352
- World Economic Conditions, A Pic-
 ture of*, 94
- World Economic Survey*, 439
- World Friendship Committee of Los
 Angeles schools, 319
- World Monetary and Economic Con-
 ference of 1933*, 144
- World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Ver-
 non St., Boston, Mass., and 8
 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.,
 34, 83-85, 345, 442
 and founding of Fletcher School of
 Law and Diplomacy, 129
*Courses on International Affairs in
 American Colleges*, 194, 197
- "World Peace Foundation Pam-
 phlets," 84, 335
- World Peace Union, 705 Avenue B,
 Lawton, Okla., 357
- World Peaceways, Inc., 103 Park
 Ave., New York, N. Y., 358
- World Power Conference, 100
- World Prosperity as Sought through
 Economic Work of the League
 of Nations* (McClure), 439
- World Social Economic Congress,
 1931, 35
- World's Student Christian Federa-
 tion, 347 Madison Ave., New
 York, N. Y., 401, 402
- World Sunday School Association,
 1 Madison Ave., New York,
 N. Y., 370
- World War, Economic and Social
 History of*, 30
- World War, Introduction to the*

- American Official Sources for the Economic and Social History of the* (Leland and Mereness), 47 n. 1
- World War
caused changed outlook, 3, 7, 8 f.
effect upon economic investigation, 184-185
- World War Supplements*, see *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*
- World Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., 2
rue Daniel Coledon, Geneva, Switzerland, 402
- Wright, Quincy
chairman of committee on teaching of international relations, 210
Research in International Law since the World War, 196
- Wriston, Henry Merritt, *Executive Agents in American Foreign Relations*, 127 n. 44
- Writings on American History*, 104 n. 22
- Wrong, George M., *The United States and Canada*, 299
- Wynne, Cyril, 50
- Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 65, 265
courses in International Relations, 211-212
Dept. of international relations, 201 f.
dissertations in Canadian-American relations, 289
- Yale University (Cont.)
endowed lecture foundation, 424
Strathcona fellowships, 295
Yale University Press, 298
- Yenching University, Peiping, 32 n. 10
- Young Democratic Clubs, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., 362
- Young Men's Christian Association, National Council, 347 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y., and Rue Daniel Coledon, Geneva, Switzerland (international headquarters), 370-373, 402
Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, 245, 372-373
- Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, World Christian Endeavor Building, 41 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., 370
- Young Women's Christian Association, 600 Lexington Ave., New York, and rue Daniel Coledon, Geneva, Switzerland (international headquarters), 373-374, 402-403
affiliated with other organizations, 86 n. 10, 350, 356, 374
Woman's Press, 373 f.
- Zimmern, A. E., 427. See Geneva School of International Studies
- Zionist Federation, Student and National, see Avukah
- Zionist Movement, 378, 384
- Znaniecki, Florian, 431

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